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THE LAYMAN'S NUMBER

**HISTORICAL
MAGAZINE**

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

CONTENTS

Editorial

Dedication to the Laymen of the Church

John Clark (1762-1841) - - - Layman:

I. The Reuben Clark Family—An Epitome of American Life (1776-1846)

II. The Autobiography of John Clark—Layman and Father of Three Clerical Sons

With Introduction and Notes by Walter H. Stowe

The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church

By G. MacLaren Brydon

The Episcopal Church and Reform

By William Wilson Manross

Historic Parishes - - Immanuel Church, New Castle:

I. The Founding and Some of the Founders

II. Three Notable Women: Mother, Daughter, and Grand-daughter

By Richard S. Rodney

Reviews:

[Vide, pages 393-398]

Index to Volume XII (1943)

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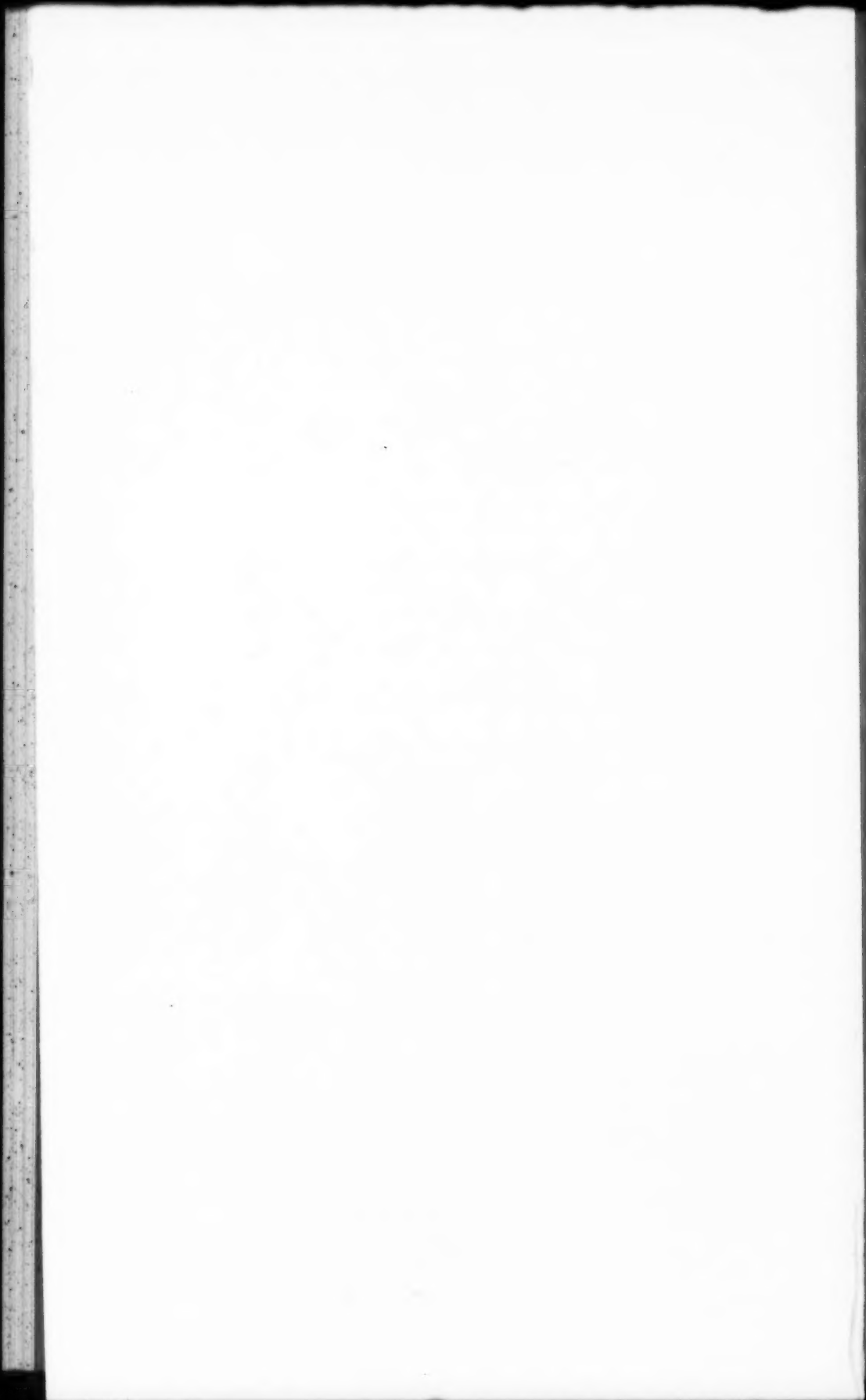
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EDITORIAL

"THE LAYMAN'S NUMBER"

THIS number, completing twelve years, twelve volumes of continuous publication, is dedicated to the LAYMEN of the Church in recognition and appreciation of their contributions to American Church history in general and to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE in particular.

When HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was originally authorized by the General Convention of 1931, it received no appropriation therefrom. Several laymen were among the original underwriters and gave generous sums to help the Magazine through its first three years of life. Beginning with and since the General Convention of 1934, which voted the first appropriation, the laymen as deputies to General Convention and as subscribers have been consistent supporters of the Magazine.

Moreover, their contributions to scholarship through the pages of the Magazine have been of increasing, and often of outstanding, value. Professor Frank J. Klingberg, John W. Lydekker, Sir Edward Midwinter, Dr. Nelson R. Burr, the late Charles Mampoteng, Nash K. Burger, and Clifford P. Morehouse, editor of *The Living Church*—to mention only those who have contributed more than one article each—are now familiar names to our readers.

"And of the chief women not a few": Mary Kent Davey Babcock, Evelyn A. Cummins, Mary F. Goodwin, Anna Maria Mitchell, and two of Great Britain—Mary Clement and Elizabeth Kaye.

In the last issue, *The S. P. G. Number*, four of the leading articles were by laymen—two men and two women.

We have selected the present number for dedication to the laymen of the Church, first, because the *Autobiography of John Clark—Layman*, herewith published, is, we feel, a great "find"; and it was found by a layman—Mr. C. W. Betts of Ballston Spa, New York; second, because we welcome Judge Richard S. Rodney to our growing list of lay contributors, with his essay on *Immanuel Church, New Castle*, which contains biographical sketches of several influential laymen and women of Delaware; and third, because Dr. Brydon's article, *The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church*, and that by Dr. Manross, *The Episcopal Church and Reform*, illuminate the significant statement by the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson in his presidential address, *The American Acta Sanctorum*, before the American Historical Association thirty-five years ago:

" . . . The history of religion in America holds a peculiarly close relation to the general history of the American spirit from the fact that here, more than elsewhere, the concerns of the churches have been managed by the laity or in accordance with their will. If ever anywhere ecclesiastical history can be rightly treated as consisting solely of the history of ecclesiastics certainly it has not been so in the United States. It has reflected the thoughts and sentiments, not of a priestly caste, but of the mass of laymen. . . ."

Biographies of laymen are difficult to obtain, but we hope in the years to come to be able to publish more of them. One accomplishment in which the Editors and the Joint Committee of General Convention feel that they are entitled to take some satisfaction, is the stimulus which HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has afforded to the latent scholarship of our Church—among bishops, presbyters, and laymen. As more of each order are enlisted in the important task of telling what Professor Klingberg calls "the complicated history of the Episcopal Church," we confidently expect more lay biographies to be forthcoming.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

JOHN CLARK (1762—1841)—LAYMAN

- I. THE REUBEN CLARK FAMILY—AN EPITOME OF AMERICAN LIFE (1776-1846).
- II. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN CLARK—LAYMAN AND FATHER OF THREE CLERICAL SONS.

With Introduction and Notes by Walter Herbert Stowe

INTRODUCTION

BIOGRAPHIES of laymen of the early nineteenth century are rare, and their autobiographies are more so. The reasons are fairly obvious. The population of the United States was predominantly rural and its economy overwhelmingly agricultural. In 1790 only six places of 8,000 or more inhabitants were to be found in the nation, aggregating but 131,472, or 3.3 per cent, of a total population of 4,000,000.

Up to 1820 schools were few, cultural advantages limited, and farmers then as now were seldom given to literary expression. The Sunday school, for example, began originally not primarily as a medium of religious education but as a means of teaching reading and writing to underprivileged children who could never expect to attend the few and expensive elementary schools. It was hoped, to be sure, that after attending Sunday school these underprivileged children would be able to read the Bible and the Prayer Book for themselves.

But the decade, 1820-1830, saw a rapid improvement in the literacy of the population, schools and colleges began to multiply, and reformers were championing the public school system, divorced from religious control, as the chief means for the salvation of the country.

By 1840 almost one and one-half million (1,453,994) people, a net increase of 1,000 per cent over 1790, were living in 44 places of 8,000 or more inhabitants—a net increase of 38 such towns, or 633 per cent. Of the total population (17,069,453) of the country in 1840, 8.5 per cent lived in urban centers, compared with 3.3 per cent in 1790.

On August 3, 1840, a prominent priest of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. Dr. John Alonzo Clark,¹ rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, set down an account of the origin and history of his immediate family. His father, John Clark, a farmer, was still living in his seventy-ninth year. Dr. Clark, having his father available for the needed facts, wrote out a statement which we shall call "The Reuben Clark Family," Reuben Clark being John Clark's father and Dr. John Alonzo Clark's grandfather. Dr. Clark also persuaded his father, John, to write his autobiography.

It is altogether fitting that a layman, Clarence W. Betts, of Ballston Spa, New York, should have discovered almost one hundred years later these two valuable documents. In preparation for the sesquicentennial anniversary (1787-1937) of Christ Church, Ballston Spa, he "found fragments of what purported to be an autobiography of the original John, but much of it was missing." By the persevering pursuit of clues he tracked down the missing manuscripts in the hands of Miss Eleanor Clark (now deceased) of Philadelphia, and of Mrs. Edward F. R. Wood of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia—both direct descendants of the layman, John Clark—the former being a granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. John Alonzo Clark, the latter being the great-granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Orin Clark (John's second clerical son). Mr. Betts' special interest in these manuscripts was due to the fact that the eldest of John Clark's three clerical sons—the Rev. Dr. William Atwater Clark—was rector of Christ Church, Ballston Spa, from 1820 to 1824. Mr. Betts has placed these and other Clark manuscripts in the custody of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.

I. THE REUBEN CLARK FAMILY—AN EPITOME OF AMERICAN LIFE (1776-1846).

The statement of the Rev. Dr. John Alonzo Clark (May 6, 1801-November 27, 1843), dated August 3, 1840, concerning the origin and history of his immediate family, illustrates in several ways the life and growth of the United States and of the American Episcopal Church.

First, it reflects the growth of the American population. Starting with less than four million (3,929,881) inhabitants in 1790, the United States had in 1840 over seventeen million (17,069,453)—an increase from 1790 of 334.4 per cent in fifty years.

¹For a biographical sketch of Dr. John Alonzo Clark, see below Footnote No. 23.

Second, this tremendous growth was almost entirely a native white population—a rate of genetic increase almost unprecedented in the history of civilized man. Examples of two families will elucidate the fecundity of the native stock:

Reuben and Mary (Tryon) Clark had eleven children and at least 73, and possibly 78, grandchildren by their ten sons and daughters who reached maturity.

Gideon Tower, a soldier of the Revolution, was in 1843 living in Indiana, 90 years of age and in good health; his wife also at 93. They had thirteen children, 59 grandchildren, 79 great-grandchildren, and 6 great-great-grandchildren.²

Until 1846 immigration was never a serious factor in the growth of population in the United States. Up to 1840 the total number of foreign immigrants entering the country was less than one million (916,381). During the first seventy years (1776-1846) of America's national life, the total number of immigrants was less than 1,600,000, whereas in that period the population of the country grew from 3,000,000 to 21,000,000.

It was not until the potato famine of 1846 in Ireland and the failure of the revolution of 1848 in Germany that immigration began to be a weighty factor in the growth and ethnic character of America's population. The total immigration of the decade, 1840-1850, was almost one and a half million (1,427,337); and this was almost three times that of the preceding decade, and almost as large as the total immigration during the first seventy years of independence. During the ten years, 1846-1856, approximately 3,000,000 immigrants entered America—twice the total number that had arrived during the preceding seventy years.³

Third, the Clark family illuminates one of the great migrations of history—the settling of the West. In the North, New England was largely the source of this migration; and New York, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, was largely the beneficiary of it. Agriculturally, New England could not absorb its growing population; western New York had quantities of unsettled and cheap land. In 1790 New England had 1,009,408 inhabitants; fifty years later (1840): 2,234,822, an increase of 121.3 per cent. New York State in 1790 had but 340,120 residents; in 1840 it had more people than all of New England—

²*New York Tribune*, April 23, 1843.

³For a detailed discussion of this subject, see Walter H. Stowe, "Immigration and the Growth of the Episcopal Church," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Volume XI, pp. 330-361.

2,428,921—an increase of 601.4 per cent in fifty years. Reuben and Mary Clark and six of their ten children are known to have moved into western New York from New England.

Fourth, the religious history of the Clark family is indicative of the break-up of Puritanism in its homeland of New England. Moreover, the uprooting of native New Englanders and their migration to New York and points west, accelerated the break-down of Puritanism and made it a fertile field for propaganda by any church prepared to take advantage of the opportunity.

Reuben and Mary Clark were staunch Puritans of the Congregationalist persuasion and deeply prejudiced against non-puritan churches. Yet their grandson, John Alonzo Clark, knew of one son who was a backslider from the Congregational Church; another who was a vacillating Methodist; one who was a devoted Methodist; one son and one daughter who were devoted Episcopalians; one grandson who was a Baptist minister; another grandson who was a Methodist minister; and three grandsons who were priests of the Episcopal Church.

Fifth, the Episcopal Church in the state of New York was well prepared by 1811 to plant, water and reap the harvest that the great migration of native New Englanders made possible. Bishop John Henry Hobart, consecrated in that year as assistant bishop of New York and practically in charge of all diocesan administration because of the illness of Bishop Moore, was a host in himself. Magnetic, aggressive, energetic, he drew both clergy and laity to him and inspired them with enthusiasm for the opportunities which lay before the Church. In the territory between Utica and Buffalo, during the fifteen years following the end of the War of 1812, the population increased from 350,000 to 875,000, or 150 per cent; and the Church gained in that time at least threefold on the population. The historian of the Church in Western New York thus evaluates Bishop Hobart's leadership:⁴

The voice of Bishop Hobart was a trumpet call such as the Church had not heard since Seabury's day, and never in New York, to stand up for "Christ and the Church." Four years before his consecration he had put on record (at the close of his famous "Apology") the memorable words which became a motto in after years for the whole American Church,—“My banner is Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order.” His clergy, and especially his missionaries, soon felt the difference between the tone which had prevailed, of timid excuse for “our peculiarities” and “our liturgy,” and that of triumphant confidence and enthusiasm in the Divine Constitution and Mission of the

⁴Charles Wells Hayes, *The Diocese of Western New York*, Rochester, 1904, p. 36.

Church, which became, from that time on, more and more the pervading character of Western New York Churchmanship. But he was felt by the laity also, and in the most secluded parishes of his diocese, as a mighty champion of the Truth and Office of the Church, and regarded with a personal affection and veneration which it is not easy to realize at this day.

Unlike most of his episcopal brethren of that day, Bishop Hobart had the tools with which to work, especially money. Trinity Church, New York City, was the richest parish in American Christendom and generously poured out its treasure to build churches and support missionaries all over New York State. Many wealthy merchants, not members of Trinity Church, were likewise generous.

All three sons of John Clark, grandsons of Reuben, entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church; and all labored effectively in western New York under Bishop Hobart. Although William Atwater⁵ and Orin,⁶ the two older, were raised and educated in New England, both were ordained to the priesthood by Hobart; and John Alonzo was ordained both deacon and priest by him. Themselves New Englanders, they helped reap the harvest for the Episcopal Church that the great migration of native New Englanders into western New York made possible.

It so happens that the ministry in western New York of the three Clark brothers—sons of John Clark, layman—was almost coterminous with the episcopate of Bishop Hobart (1811-1830). William A., to be sure, after ten years (1810-1820) of hard and fruitful labor, moved to Ballston Spa and later to New York City; but Orin remained in Geneva from 1811 until his death (1828), two years before Bishop Hobart's own decease; and John Alonzo took, as it were, his brother William's place in western New York for three years (1826-1829).

Dr. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, second bishop of Western New York, said that that diocese and its college (Hobart) "are trophies of Bishop Hobart's life. To him we owe our existence."⁷ If, however, there had been no clergymen such as the Clark brothers, this would not have been true. No bishop, however great, can build up a diocese without able clergy to help him. When, therefore, the historian of the diocese of Western New York states that Bishop Hobart's episcopate, with special reference to the Church in western New York, was "in three respects at least truly epoch-making," it must not be forgotten that

⁵For a biographical sketch of William Atwater Clark, see below, Footnote No. 12.

⁶For Orin Clark, see below, Footnote No. 13.

⁷James G. Wilson (ed.), *The Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, New York, 1886, p. 107.

numerous presbyters such as the Clark brothers helped to make it so, and that without such as they were, it could not have been.⁸

"First, in actual growth on foundations laid through his wise and vigorous oversight. We have already noted the fact that the Church in his time gained three-fold on the rapid increase of population in this part of the state. He found Davenport Phelps the only missionary west of Utica, in a population of 350,000; he left 36 within the same limits, out of 52 in the whole of New York. He found 20 parishes and missions with five churches, two of them unfinished, and less than 500 communicants; he left 66 [parishes and missions], with 36 churches built and consecrated, and 2,331 communicants, and about 1,000 children under catechetical and Sunday-school instruction. He found no provision for the support of the episcopate except the salary of an assistant minister of Trinity Church [which Hobart remained until his election as rector of Trinity Church five years after his elevation to the episcopate]; he left an episcopate fund of \$46,474. All this was largely owing to the personal efforts of the bishop, but much more, doubtless, to the spirit which his character and example infused into his clergy and laity.

"But of far greater importance was his championship, and his clear and persuasive setting forth in his preaching, his addresses, and his books, of the distinctive principles of the Church, until his time, it is hardly too much to say, slurred over and kept out of sight. From his time New York was distinctively what was then called a "High Church" diocese; not, certainly, in ritual, according to the ideas of later years, but positively in regard to the divine constitution of the church and her ministry, the obligation and spiritual benefit of her sacraments, and her law and public liturgical worship. In these respects the 'Western District' of his diocese, especially, presented a striking contrast, at the close of his episcopate, not only to many other dioceses of that day (which was a decidedly 'Low Church' day for this country in general), but to itself in the earliest years of his charge of it . . .

"And lastly, the bishop left a deep impress on western New York in the character of the clergy whom he gathered around him for its hard and self-denying missionary work, and who became what they were, and did the work of their day, largely through the stimulating and guiding personality of their leader."

Thus the Clark family was an epitome of many of the social, economic, cultural and religious forces at work during the first seventy years (1776-1846) of America's national life, and more especially of

⁸C. W. Hayes, *The Diocese of Western New York*. Rochester, 1904, pp. 81-83.

those in New York State from 1810 to 1840. Dr. John Alonzo Clark's statement depends for its facts, according to his own assertion, upon the memory of his "venerable father who is now [1840] in the seventy-ninth year of his age."

THE REUBEN CLARK FAMILY ACCORDING TO DR. JOHN ALONZO CLARK

My father's father was Reuben Clark who was born in Haddam, Connecticut. His [Reuben's] father whose Christian name I have been unable to ascertain, was killed with lightning while walking through the fields of his own farm. He was at this time living with his second wife. Although twice married he left only four children, the names of three of which were Reuben, Oliver and Hannah.

Reuben was my paternal grandfather and married Mary Tryon, who was the daughter of John Tryon of Middletown, Connecticut. This branch of my ancestor's family was able to trace their origin to English stock in the person of my paternal grandmother's great-grandfather. My grandfather, Reuben Clark, had eleven children, ten of whom lived to grow to man's estate. Their names in order of seniority were Anna, Samuel, Daniel, Mary, John, Reuben, Thomas, Silas, Phebe, and Eli.⁹

Anna Clark was married to Samuel Green of Canaan, Connecticut, by whom she had two or three children, two of whom were sons and moved to the state of Ohio. Their mother, Mrs. Green, died in 1817.

Samuel Clark married Mary Lee of Canaan, Connecticut, by whom he had ten children. This family moved to Batavia, New York, more than forty years ago, and were among the first settlers of that new country. He died full thirty years ago, as early as 1810.

Daniel Clark was twice married. His first wife lived but a short time and he had no issue by her. The name of his second wife was Anna Rugg of Canaan, Connecticut, by whom he had eight children.

This family I have a distinct recollection of. They resided in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, my native place, about three years a near neighbor to my father. The younger children were my playmates. One fact I distinctly recollect, although I then could not have been more than four years old. In passing through a wood yard adjacent to the house where they resided, I met with a terrible disaster. The small chips scattered over the yard had been recently raked into heaps and burned. Al-

⁹To enable the reader to distinguish readily between Reuben and Mary (Tryon) Clark's children and their many grandchildren, the names of their children are italicized.

though no marks of fire were visible, heaps of burning embers still remained beneath the superincumbent piles of ashes that were scattered through the yard. It was summer and as a great luxury I was permitted to go barefooted like other children in the neighborhood. Unconscious of the concealed danger, I walked directly through one of these heaps of ashes, and my feet sank directly down into the burning embers beneath. The whole skin almost instantly came off my feet. I cried out in the agony of my distress, and my cousin Laura instantly flew to my relief and bore me in her arms to the house. I shall never forget the emotions of gratitude I felt towards her as I hung upon her neck. It was a very long time before I could again walk.

Another incident I recollect in connection with my Uncle Daniel. In those days of young existence when every tale of horror made a deep impression upon the mind, I recollect of hearing of some cases of awful suffering from hydrophobia. About this time a mad dog made his appearance in the neighborhood. Some of our family made a very narrow escape from his attempt to spring upon them and bite them. Uncle Daniel had a favorite house dog who unfortunately encountered this enraged animal and was bit by him. Symptoms of hydrophobia soon followed and the old faithful companion had to be shot. This was a source of great grief to us all at the time.

My Uncle Daniel afterwards moved into western New York where in a few years he died. Looking into this family there are now [1840] living,—Pardon, Jacin, Orange, Lyman, Albert, Laura, and Florilla. Laura is married to her second husband whose name is Norton. Florilla is also married to a second husband, whose name I am unable to ascertain. Both of these daughters live in Elba near Batavia [New York] and several of the sons. Orange resides in Ohio and Jacin in Michigan, who has a son who is a Baptist minister.

Mary Clark [John Alonzo's aunt] married Samuel Fryscott of Sheffield, Massachusetts, by whom she had nine or ten children. One of her sons was a preacher in the Methodist Church, but is now deceased.

I have a very faint recollection of this family. When I was quite a child I accompanied my parents on a visit in mid-winter to this family. I recollect very few of the incidents that then occurred, but have the more distinct remembrance that I was very unhappy and did not enjoy myself at all. The cause of my disquietude I cannot now recollect but the fact is most vividly impressed upon my memory. I there met my Aunt [Anna Clark] Green, which was the only time I can recollect of having seen her. Several of the Fryscott family are now in Ohio. Whether any of the family still remains in Sheffield I have no means of ascertaining.

Reuben Clark [uncle of John Alonzo and not his grandfather of the same name] married Miss Higby of Canaan, Connecticut, by whom he had six or seven children. Although early in life he professed to be wonderfully converted and united with the Congregational Church he soon fell back and became very corrupt. Though he lived to an old age, he lived in sin, and led his family in the same course. Whether he found mercy at last God only knows.

Thomas Clark married Eunice Wyman of Sheffield, Massachusetts, by whom he had seven or eight children. Although at different periods of his life he professed to be a very devoted member of the Methodist Church, his course was very vacillating. He was very unhappy in his family, himself most probably being the cause of it, as his children with great unanimity took sides with their mother. He is still living [1840] and professes now to be a humble penitent.

Silas Clark married Rebecca Chapin of Tyringham, Massachusetts, by whom he had nine or ten children. He was a devoted Methodist and died about 1824. The family still reside [1840] somewhere in the state of New York between Oneida and Ontario Lake.

Phebe Clark was married to Ephraim Knapp of Canaan, Connecticut, and became the mother of seven children. She died a communicant of the Episcopal Church a few years since. The remains of the family reside in Chautauqua County, New York.

Eli Clark married Mary Ann of Canaan, by whom he had four children. They are now [1840] residing in Ohio. I often visited this family in my childhood while they lived in Vernon, Oneida County, New York.

My father, *John* Clark, was the fifth of the ten children in this family. He was born on the 26th¹⁰ of June, 1762, in Durham, Connecticut.

My grandfather, during the minority of his children, lived successively in Haddam, Durham and Wallingford, Connecticut, and in Sheffield, Sandersfield, and New Marlborough, Massachusetts. He afterwards lived for a while with my father in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. I have a distinct recollection of my grandparents as they appeared when residing with us. They appeared to my young mind as very old people, and whose appropriate place was in the two big armed chairs. They always seemed very grave, as though thinking much about death and eternity. I distinctly recollect their appearance at family prayers. They were both truly pious, being members of the Congregational Church, and strongly prejudiced against all other forms of religion, except those established by the Puritans, from which stock they were descended. My grandfather after-

¹⁰John Clark in his "Autobiography," gives the date of his birth as "the 6th of June 1762."

wards went to live with his younger son Eli in western New York where he died in a fit while walking in the fields.

It is quite remarkable that my great-grandfather and my grandfather Clark died suddenly in the field, admonishing all their descendants that in the midst of life we are in death. May we who survive remember it and live constantly prepared for the coming of the Son of Man.

My father, who was named *John* after his maternal grandfather, was married early in life to Chloe Atwater, my mother, who was the daughter of William Atwater of Wallingford, Connecticut. Her ancestors for several generations back resided in Cheshire, Connecticut, and were among the first settlers of that town. Her father had seven or eight children, among whom were Rufus, William, Ward, Ira, Chloe, and Esther. Ambrose and Reuben Atwater were brothers of my maternal grandfather, William Atwater. The name of my maternal grandmother was Tuttle, and the family resided in Cheshire, Connecticut.

I will here insert a narrative drawn up by my father at my request which gives a sketch of his early and later life, and also several particulars in relation to my dear departed mother.

(For the "narrative drawn up by" John Clark, father of Dr. John Alonzo Clark, giving "a sketch of his early and later life," see Section II, below.)

II. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN CLARK—LAYMAN AND FATHER OF THREE CLERICAL SONS.

INTRODUCTION

One rises from the reading of John Clark's autobiography with the feeling: "I wish I might have known him."

He came, apparently, from that yeoman stock to which both England and America owe so much—the smaller landholders of England, independent, liberty-loving, jealous of their "natural rights"—from which Thomas Jefferson was also descended. Bishop Stubbs, the great authority on English constitutional history, refers to the yeomen as "a body which in antiquity of possession and purity of extraction was probably superior to the classes that looked down upon it as ignoble." The decay of their class began with the formation of large sheep farms in the sixteenth century, but its decline was slow rather than precipitate. This factor undoubtedly encouraged emigration to America in the seventeenth century, and when many of them were bought out by the

large landowners during the eighteenth century, this migration to New England and elsewhere was accelerated.

John Clark kept his feet on the ground, as a farmer should, but the eyes of his mind and soul were not held there. If the farmer's life was dull, his was an exception to the rule. Here is a summary of the interesting and important subjects portrayed in John Clark's autobiography:

The economic and social life of 18th century New England; the limited educational advantages; the experiences of a private in the Continental army.

Religious experiences: unrest, revivals, conversions; New England puritanism and its extremes, its break-up; the decline of the Congregational Church, the growing appeal of the Episcopal Church.

The high birth rate and the high death rate: John and Chloe (Atwater) Clark had 11 children and lost 6 in infancy.

The sickness, disease, and accidents of the time.

Life in Nova Scotia. John Clark was a patriot and not a loyalist, but his unhappy experiences must have been similar to those of many loyalists who did not feel free to return to the United States as he did.

What interests us particularly is the light he throws upon the revival of the Episcopal Church from its deplorable condition following the Revolutionary war, from which it suffered more than any other church. Concerning that period Bishop White said: "The congregations of our communion throughout the United States were approaching annihilation." This revival is usually dated from 1811, but it should be understood that by this is meant that by that date it had reached a stage of greater visibility and acceleration. The springs of that revival were flowing at least ten years before 1811, symbolized by laymen such as John Clark, who joined the Episcopal Church because of conviction, and who gave their sons (in John's case, three sons) to its ministry.

"Far back, through creeks and inlets making
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

(*Arthur Clough.*)

The splendid work wrought by the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, Connecticut, and by Trinity Church, New York, whose vestry organized and largely supported the "Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York," is clearly shown in the cases of

William and Orin Clark—both educated at the former with the aid of scholarships furnished by the latter.

The migration from New England to western New York, and the remarkable growth of the Episcopal Church there, are made real in the persons of John Clark, his three clerical sons and the other members of his family. The further migration westward to Ohio by some members of his family is also indicated.

Mary H. Clark, daughter of the Rev. William Atwater Clark, wrote concerning her grandfather, John Clark, whom she had known personally:

"My grandfather,—we do not often see his like now,—was one of those minds more common in the last century,—strong, vigorous and argumentative. He was brought up a Presbyterian ["Congregationalist" is more accurate] and was familiar with all the standard authors on theology of the day, so that his knowledge of divinity would often confound young clergymen given to show off their ability."

After reading his autobiography we can well believe that!

For the convenience of the reader, marginal headings and footnotes have been inserted by the editor in the autobiography which follows.

JOHN CLARK

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE AS TOLD BY HIMSELF

Birth and Family

I was born in Durham, Connecticut, the 6th of June 1762. My ancestors for several generations back had been those who pursued the peaceful occupation of husbandry. They were industrious, thrifty, contented cultivators of the earth. I may describe them as far as my knowledge of them extends as a race of hardy farmers, who generally owned the land they cultivated, and lived in an independent comfortable manner.

My father however in an evil day, having forgotten the wise maxim, "*He that hateth suretyship is sure*," became bondsman for a friend, who in the end proved bankrupt, and involved my father in liabilities that swept from him all his little estate. This happened at a period when he had a young and rising family, and he found himself so straightened in providing for them, that he was unable to afford his youngest children scarcely any advantages of education.

Three
Months'
Schooling

This was at a period before any money was appropriated by the government for the support and encouragement of common schools, and facilities for acquiring an education were by no means what they are now. The entire opportunity that I enjoyed of receiving instruction at school was three months' attendance upon a common school. My parents at the time I enjoyed this brief opportunity were residing in Wallingford. I was then quite a large boy, and shall never forget the mortification I experienced when soon after I began to attend school, the master called me up to spell, and put out to me the word "dog." I tried but could not spell this simple monosyllable. This excited the hearty laughter of the whole school to my inexpressible mortification and chagrin. Soon after this my parents moved to Sheffield, Massachusetts, which was then regarded in Connecticut as new country.

A Rough
Two Years

I was at this time ten years old. My father's family being large, I was left behind with my mother's sister who was married to Elihu Atwater of Cheshire where I remained two years. Although this family was living in very easy circumstances, they did not send me to school, or make any effort to teach me at home. Indeed I fared rather roughly with them. I was required to work each day beyond my strength. I was very miserably clad, and often sent out on cold frosty mornings upon various errands without a shoe or stocking upon my feet. During all this time I lived upon the coarsest diet, and was often punished when no blame whatever could be attached to me. I at length however was released and again joined my father's family.

Effects
of the
Revolution-
ary War

Soon after this when I was now about thirteen the Revolutionary War broke out. My father and my brother Daniel were soon drafted and obliged to join the army. The whole business of working a farm was then thrown upon myself and a younger brother, which of course occupied all our time and tasked our utmost energies. My father continued in the service until the autumn after I was fourteen years old. An arrangement was then made by which I was to take his place in the army, and he was to return to the family. This arrangement was however provisionally frustrated. The very time I was to have left home to join the army, I was attacked with the ague and fever which laid me prostrate, and never let go its grasp upon me for many weeks and then it was displaced by another form of fever, which my physician called the billious remittant. This protracted sickness reduced me very low, and came well nigh cutting me off. I did not fully recover until the next spring, when my father re-

Education
Renewed

turned from the army, and again entered upon the business of cultivating his farm.

As I could be spared from the labors of the field, and my father was greatly pressed to sustain his large family, I was sent to work as a laborer by the month for Mr. Asa North of Canaan for which my father was to receive certain stipulated wages. My residence with this man was the source of great improvement to me. He was a school teacher, and took great pains to give me instruction, and improve my education. Almost every evening during my residence with him was thus occupied. He was a thriving man, and carried on several kinds of business. He had a small manufactory for tar in Skotuck about twelve miles south east from Albany. I was engaged in chopping wood at this place, when I accidentally struck the axe into my foot and made an incision from which the blood issued in such copious streams that I came well nigh bleeding to death. Although this accident occurred just after sunrise in the morning, my foot continued to bleed until nine o'clock at night.

The small
pox

I ought to have mentioned that previous to my taking up my abode with Mr. North, I had the small pox, and although it was light with me, I now regard it as a great mercy that my life amid so many dangers was held in being, and wonder at myself that I could so long have gone on in sin and folly, forgetful of the hand whence all mercies came.

Joins the
Continental
Army

When I was about sixteen years old, my parents changed their place of residence, and moved to New Marlborough. I went with them, and when I was eighteen I was drafted into the United States Service to serve in a three months' campaign. Our destination was up the Mohawk River, which was then regarded as the remote frontier of the great western wilderness, and quite beyond the borders of civilization. It was on the first of September, 1780, that I started with my knapsack and gun upon my shoulder. Our mustering place was Great Barrington, from whence we marched up the Mohawk to Fort Planck, in the vicinity of what is now called Fort Plain, about thirty miles below Utica.

During this tour we underwent fatigues that I can in no way describe. At times we were pinched with hunger, and then drenched in the rain and chilled by the cold. After our arrival at Fort Planck it became necessary to conduct a drove of cattle up to Fort Stanwix, what is now called Rome, for the supply of the garrison. The whole way was unbroken wilderness without a human habitation with the exception of a little settlement at Herkimer. A small patch of land also had been

cleared at the point where Utica now stands, but the two or three log houses that had been built were destroyed and burnt to the ground. The company to which I belonged were selected to guard the drove on their way through the wilderness to Fort Stanwix. On our way we had to ford the river twice, and during the excursion we were three successive days and nights without anything whatever to eat.

A Bloody
Skirmish
and
Defeat

About the 20th of October we were called to meet our foe in deadly conflict. The circumstances which led to this bloody skirmish were the following. The enemy divided their forces into two bodies, one of which was sent to attack Ballston, and the other old Schoharie. Their forces consisted of regular troops, volunteer levies and Indians, in all about twelve hundred strong. After they had completed this work of destruction, they again met at the nose on the Mohawk River, and marched up the river burning every house and barn and stack of hay and grain they came near until they reached Fort Plain. Our forces consisted of about two hundred men, who were under the command of Colonel Brown of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. He was a brave man but not sufficiently cautious to be successful in Indian warfare.

The day previous to the enemy's arrival, we were marched from Fort Plain alternately up and down the river the whole day. Being exceedingly fatigued we were at length allowed at nightfall to encamp in an old barn. About ten o'clock at night, after we had fairly sunk down into sleep, we were suddenly called up and ordered to cross the river. It was a cold frosty night and as we had but one boat to convey us over, we were a long time in crossing, so that when we reached Stone Arabia, only three miles distant, the day had fairly dawned upon us.

Here an express was sent to Colonel Brown signed by General Van Rensselaer, with orders to march his men down the river to meet the enemy who were stated to be three miles below. General Van Rensselaer was himself only six miles below with three thousand men under his command, militia from Albany, and having also a heavy brass field piece. They were to move up and attack the enemy on one side and Brown and his forces on the other. This pretended order from General Van Rensselaer was a forged communication, got up by General Bryant who commanded the forces of the enemy, and was intended to decoy our men into the very jaws of inevitable destruction. To deceive Col. Brown more fully the enemy fired a cannon down the river a few miles shortly after the express arrived. And after we were called out and put under march we heard the report of a field piece frequently, which

we supposed was inflicting destruction upon our foes. Col. Brown, flushed with the expectation of easy and certain victory, hurried on the troops guided by the traitor who brought the express. We were marching in indian file, two deep with our Colonel at our head, quite unconscious that our guide was conducting us into the very midst of an ambuscade. A short time before we encountered the enemy the man who brought the express and who was guiding us on horseback, rode off saying he would go before and see if he could discover any signs of the approach of our foe.

Ambushed

Just then we had marched into an open field, surrounded on three sides by a forest. Beneath these forest trees on each side, the enemy lay in ambush. When we were well in the field, they sprang from their concealment and fired upon us. Col. Brown fell at the first fire. There was only one man standing between me and him when the whizzing ball cut him down. It is believed that the traitorous wretch who brought the express shot him. This man was a tory. He lived as it was afterwards ascertained a few miles down the river, and was known by many of the people at Stone Arabia. Previous to this he was supposed to be a true man. For this treasonable service he was subsequently rewarded by his employers with a lieutenant's commission in the British army.

As soon as Col. Brown fell, the command devolved upon Major Knott. He saw at a glance that before the men could be put into a position to make any defence, they would be entirely cut down by the immense force of the enemy who outnumbered us six times over. He therefore instantly ordered a retreat. We were three miles from our fort, to which we retreated in the face of the enemy's fire. Only about fifty of our men reached the fort, the rest were cut off.

Notwithstanding this almost miraculous preservation of my life, I still remained insensible to the mercy of God which had plucked me from the jaws of death. My residence with Mr. North had led me to see the great disadvantage of not having a good common education, and had also given me a taste for study and self-improvement.

Self-Education

After my return from the military campaign just detailed, I sought to improve every opportunity that presented itself to push forward my education. I applied myself every leisure hour I could seize, to reading, writing and study, so that when I was twenty-one years of age, I was perhaps quite as well educated as many around me who had had far better advantages. But up to this period I had lived without hope and without God in the world. Though brought up by pious parents who uniformly set

before me a good example and gave me excellent religious instruction, and though I had been rescued again and again from the very jaws of death, and was early made to pass through most trying scenes, I still continued year after year, blind to the depravity of my own heart, and insensible to the danger of my situation.

Conversion

When I was about twenty-one years old, however, it pleased the Almighty to open my eyes, and that I believe in a way very unusual. I was building a mill. The carpenter I employed was a very profane man. His profanity was so awful, and his oaths so horrid, that I was shocked and alarmed for him. I could not but see that his language must be very offensive to the Almighty, provoking his just and awful indignation. This train of thought being once started, I was led to reflect on my own condition and state in the sight of God. I immediately felt the arrows of conviction piercing my soul. I felt that I was a sinner and that God must be angry with me. I became exceedingly distressed. I could get no rest day or night. At the same time I was very much ashamed of my mental distress and would not let any one know my feelings. Still I could not conceal the truth. I at once began to read my Bible with an anxious desire to know the way of life. I also sought the face of the Lord in prayer, and obtained what religious counsel I could from those around me. I was in this state for several weeks without peace or comfort.

At length my burden was taken off, and I could rejoice in God my Saviour. I was walking about the field sad and sorrowful when these words came to my mind: "For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed," and they seemed to inspire me immediately with faith in the deliverance that was in Christ, so that I was enabled to look up and praise redeeming mercy. From this time I seemed to be in a new world. The whole current of my affections was changed. What I before loved, I now hated. Previous to this I had been very fond of the amusements of the world, such as dancing and card playing; but now I no longer loved any of these things, but looked upon them as dangerous lures to draw the soul away from God.

A Religious Revival

Shortly after this there was a great revival of religion. Not less than fifty persons were under powerful convictions of sin. About forty of these gave evidence of conversion. Among these were three or four who professed to have very singular manifestations made to them. They were at times in such lofty ecstasies of bliss that they scarcely knew whether they were out or in the body. My brother Reuben professed to be one of this illumi-

nated class. But it is worthy to remark that not one of these illuminated ones continued steadfast. They every one of them soon declined in religion, and in a few months went back to the world, and were more devolved to its follies and vices than ever.

Joins the
Congrega-
tional
Church

A short time after I had been brought to see and love the things of God, I felt it my duty and privilege to make a public profession of religion. This I did in the Congregational Church at New Marlborough. As my father and grandfather were reared up in the Congregational Church, the thought never crossed my mind but that this was the Church of Christ founded after the apostolic model, and in all respects, both in its ministry and discipline, conformed entirely to scripture. About forty persons, the subjects of the awakening, united with the church the same time with myself.

Thinks for
Himself

After my connection was formed with the Congregational Church, I in a short time became convinced by an attentive perusal of the scriptures that the custom which prevailed among almost all Congregationalists of New England, of commencing the Sabbath on Saturday evening and ending it at the going down of the sun on Sunday, was wholly erroneous and contrary to scripture. The passages of scripture which particularly attracted my attention were the following:

"In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary to see the sepulchre." (Matt. 28:1.) "And when the Sabbath was past Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Salome had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him; and very early in the morning, the first day of the week they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun." (Mark 16:1 & 2.) "Now upon the first day of the week very early in the morning they came unto the sepulchre." (Luke 24:1.) "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene, early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre." (John 20:1.) "Then the same day at evening being the first day of the week . . . came Jesus and stood in the midst." (John 20:19.) "And upon the first day of the week when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow and continued his speech until midnight." (Acts 20:7.)

From these passages I clearly saw that "*the end of the Sabbath, when it began to dawn toward the first day of the week*" was not at sundown, but "*very early in the morning,*" not a great while before "*the rising of the sun,*" but still at a time "*when it was yet dark;*" in short, most clearly at midnight. For "*the first day of the week*" which began before sunrise did not terminate at the going down of the sun, but ran into "*the evening of the same day.*" For Paul, though he was going on the morrow, that is the day after Sunday, did not leave off at the going down of the sun, but continued preaching "*until midnight*" the first day of the week, and after this "*talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed.*"

The passages of scripture were so conclusive to my mind that I immediately altered my practice, and kept Sunday and Sunday evening as holy time instead of Saturday evening and Sunday. I also had the happiness of convincing my parents and several other friends of their error in relation to this point.

A great change has since then taken place in New England in relation to this matter so that, I am told, the custom of commencing the Sabbath at the going down of the sun on Saturday, and looking upon Sunday evening as no part of the holy time, has become quite obsolete.

Marries an
Episcopalian

The next important event in my life was my marriage. This took place November 3, 1785. One of my maternal aunts had married Mr. Ambrose Atwater of Their daughter M—....., who was my cousin, came to visit our family. She brought with her, her cousin, whom I had never seen before, Chloe Atwater, daughter of Mr. William Atwater of Wallingford (Connecticut). This was my first acquaintance with one who subsequently became my wife, one who was truly a treasure to her husband, and an ornament to her sex. Though wholly unpretending, and entirely removed from ostentation of every sort, she possessed an uncommonly vigorous and well balanced mind, together with a "meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God is of great price." She had great humility of character, and the highest delicacy of feeling. She was truly benevolent, kind and tender hearted, and exhibited in her conduct and the temper of her mind "*the fruits of the Spirit.*"

Her
character

To me she was truly the gift of God. Our acquaintance seemed altogether the result of providential appointment, as her place of residence was more than sixty miles from us, and she was induced to visit New Marlborough solely for the sake of accompanying her cousin in this jaunt, without the remotest idea of the result which followed.

Chloe Atwater was a little more than a year younger than myself. She was born in Wallingford, Connecticut, September 21, 1763. Her parents were pious people, and members of the Episcopal Church. She herself became a subject of divine grace in early life. Her mind was first seriously impressed by the sudden decease of a younger sister who died of the measles.

It was about thirteen months after my first acquaintance with her that our marriage took place in Wallingford, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Mr. Andrews,¹¹ a clergyman of the Episcopal Church. Soon after our marriage we went to New Marlboro', and spent six or eight weeks in my father's family. We then returned to Wallingford, where I left Mrs. C. at her father's, and went back to New Marlboro' to make preparations for house-keeping. I expected to go after her in about four weeks, but as we had no snow until the first of March, I was prevented from going until that time. We commenced our housekeeping early in March 1786 in New Marlboro'.

His Wife
Joins the
Congrega-
tional
Church

As there was no Episcopal Church in that place, Mrs. C. deemed it her duty, as every good wife will, to attend church with her husband, and become connected with the same church with him. This I think the duty of every woman unless she feels she would be doing violence to her conscience in so doing. A person who believes in a divinely constituted ministry, and believes that the ministry consists of three orders, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and that the right of ordination is derived from the Apostolic succession, and transmitted only through the highest order in the ministry, could not conscientiously unite with any Church destitute of the Episcopacy. This as a sound churchman I now believe. But my wife had no such conscientious scruples, for she had at that time given no particular attention to this subject, her attachment to the Episcopal Church having arisen from her education in the communion. She therefore, after we took up our residence at New Marlboro', without hesitation, joined in full communion with the Congregational Church, feeling it her duty to be united in all things with her husband.

¹¹The Rev. SAMUEL ANDREWS (1736—Sept. 26, 1818). Graduate of Yale, 1759; ordained in London, 1761, his license from the bishop of London being dated October 26, 1761. He served Wallingford and the surrounding territory from 1761 to 1786. During the Revolution he had to give bonds to reside within parish limits, not being allowed to visit without permission, but in spite of his restrictions he labored steadily during the war. In 1786 he transferred to New Brunswick, Canada, where he served St. Andrew's Church, Charlotte county, until his death at the age of 82. Andrews was a very industrious missionary in Connecticut. E. E. Beardsley in his *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Vol. I, 354, describes Andrews as "beloved as a man and a minister in the scene of his nativity," and as a "prophet" who "had honor in his own country."

Birth of
two Future
Clergymen
of the
Episcopal
Church

In due time the Lord blessed us with two children. The eldest, *William Atwater*,¹² was born July 29, 1786, and the second, *Orin*,¹³ was born January 29, 1788. After Orin's birth, the physician said it was impossible for him to live, he seemed so delicate and fragile. After he was dressed we weighed him, and found that with the clothes he had on he weighed only four pounds and a half. Still it pleased the Lord to spare him, and make him a minister of the everlasting gospel.

¹²WILLIAM ATWATER CLARK (July 29, 1786—September 13, 1841) was the oldest of the three "brothers who made such an honorable record in the work of the diocese [of New York] through many years. . . All three became doctors of divinity, but were more distinguished as men of the highest moral and spiritual character" [C. W. Hayes, *The Diocese of Western New York*, Rochester, 1904, pp. 36, 37.]

William A. was educated in both the classics and theology at the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Connecticut, under the Rev. Dr. Tillotson Bronson. He was ordained deacon, October 31, 1810, by Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York; priest, September 5, 1812, by Bishop John Henry Hobart of New York.

He was one of the early and indefatigable missionaries in western New York: at Auburn, Manlius, and other communities in Onondaga and Cayuga counties, 1810-1818; St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, 1818-1820; Christ Church, Ballston Spa, 1820-1824. In the latter year he became the first rector of All Saints' Church, New York City, built the first church building, and reportedly had a larger Sunday school than any other Episcopal parish. His arduous missionary labors had taken their toll and in 1837 chronic rheumatism induced him to leave New York and move to Brighton, Livingston County, Michigan, where he died four years later at the age of fifty-five. In 1824 Columbia College awarded him an M. A. degree; and in 1831 he received the degree of doctor of divinity from Alleghany College.

Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York, who knew Dr. Clark well, said of him: "He exercised a faithful and useful ministry, was an exemplary Christian, and of a very respectable natural and acquired ability. He had also many interesting qualities for social and friendly intercourse." [See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V., 536-539.]

¹³ORIN CLARK (January 29, 1788—February 24, 1828), although raised and educated in New England, spent his entire but brief ministry of seventeen years in western New York. His whole life was a battle with ill health, but his perseverance triumphed over all difficulties and enabled him to complete his studies at the Cheshire Academy, Connecticut, and to be ordered deacon on October 27, 1811, by Bishop Jarvis of that diocese.

Like his brother William A., Orin was a pioneer missionary in western New York, commencing his labors in Ontario and Genesee counties soon after his ordination to the diaconate. He accompanied Bishop Hobart on the latter's first visitation in that region (1812). Soon after, probably on June 18, 1813, he was priested by Bishop Hobart and, because of impaired health, devoted himself henceforth largely to Trinity Church, Geneva. He continued, however, to exercise a kind of general supervision of the interests of the Episcopal Church in western New York, and was always on the alert to organize new churches and to plead for missionaries.

Orin was a prime mover in the establishment of Geneva (now Hobart) College, was one of its original trustees, and held the office till his death. One of Orin's greatest services to the Church was his beneficial influence upon George Washington Doane, the greatest bishop of New Jersey (1832-1859). Doane was nine years old when his father moved to Geneva in 1808. Concerning Orin Clark he wrote (1858):

"He was the pastor of my boyhood. The wax was soft, and the impressions are deep. . . . He struck me then, and the impression remains, as very

Moves to
Nova Scotia

The following spring we moved to New Haven with a view of embarking for Nova Scotia. The country in which we lived, New Marlboro', was rough and the soil rather poor. I felt a desire to go into a better country, and my attention was attracted toward Nova Scotia in the following manner. Mr. William Atwater, my wife's father, had become an agent for a colony of about seventy families that were preparing to emigrate to Nova Scotia. He was absent exploring that country at the time of our marriage. An individual who owned a very extensive tract of land in that country, was anxious to have it settled with New England farmers, and made very advantageous offers to all actual settlers. Mr. William Atwater and almost all his sons had already gone there, and they were anxious that we should join the colony. It was natural that Mrs. C should desire to be in the vicinity of her family and friends; and after due deliberation we resolved to move to Nova Scotia. I was in possession of two small farms at this time. One of them I sold to procure the means of a fit-out for this proposed enterprise. The other I rented for a given number of years.

A long and
dangerous
passage

Having made the requisite preparation we embarked June 3rd, 1788. The place of our destination was at Boylston, which lies at the head of Chedabuctou Bay [near Guysborough]. We had a long passage and a very dangerous one in consequence of the grossly intemperate habits of our pilot, whom we took on board at New Haven.

like Archbishop Tillotson. I had seen his portrait in some old folio. I was catechised by him, and prepared by him for confirmation. And I am much indebted to his earnest championship for the advantages of education. Both he and Mr. Phelps made up their minds that I would be a clergyman. Of course they urged my being sent to college. It was a hard thing for my parents to do; but they did it. . .

"Dr. Orin Clark was an excellent preacher, plain and simple, but earnest and impressive. He was a diligent pastor; especially careful of the lambs of his flock. No clergyman in western New York was held in higher respect. That he deserved it is well shown by the fact that he was honored with the confidence of that consummate judge of men, Bishop Hobart. . .

"I am quite sure that none of the clergy of his day was more zealous and faithful in the missionary work; that none was a wiser and more devoted parish priest; that none aided the progress of the Church more by the precepts of wisdom and the patterns of holiness, and that none was more instrumental in the foundation of Geneva College."

Orin Clark, like his brother William, was a high churchman of Bishop Hobart's school. In 1827 Union College conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity.

Dr. Orin Clark was married three times: (1) To Eliza Ann Rutgers, by whom he had three daughters; (2) Susan Rose Nicholas, by whom he had two daughters; (3) Miss McComb, to whom he was married in the November preceding his death, and who survived him. [See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V, 540-44.]

During our voyage we were several times almost miraculously preserved from shipwreck, being almost within a hair's breadth of striking upon a reef of rocks. At length, through the mercy of Heaven, we reached our place of destination in safety July 2nd. Mrs. Clark had suffered terribly from seasickness all the way and it was therefore a great relief once more to get on land.

A Tragedy
en route

I must not here forget to mention that during our voyage a man fell overboard and was lost under most melancholy circumstances. His name was Bryant. He was a passenger on his way to Nova Scotia as a settler. The occurrence produced a very great shock to our feelings. To see a fellow mortal launched in a moment, without thought or preparation, from time to eternity, is under any circumstances a most painful spectacle. But in this instance it was peculiarly distressing inasmuch as the individual who was lost went with an oath upon his tongue. One of the families on board was very careless in cooking and often would allow the caboose to get on fire. It was on one occasion of this sort that Bryant, coming up on deck, under the excitement of the moment, caught up a bucket, and while he threw it over the side of the vessel to draw up some water to extinguish the fire, he uttered a threat upon this family, with an imprecation of damnation upon his soul if it was not fulfilled. But in the very act of his scooping up the bucket of water, and while the oath trembled upon his lips, his feet suddenly slipped and he went overboard, and sank to rise no more.

Disappointment
and
Hardships

Soon after we arrived in Nova Scotia I saw we were in a bad case. We had all the evils and disadvantages of a new country, without scarcely anything to counterbalance them. The climate was severe and the land indifferent. The representation had been made to us that this would be a good farming country. I had gone with the full expectation of cultivating the soil for a living. I soon found it was a miserable country for agricultural purposes. However I determined to make the best of a bad bargain. I obtained a tract of land, and built a log cabin, which was full half a mile distant from any other human habitation in the depth of the forest. We arrived in July, the weather was then pleasant and agreeable, but when winter came on, it came with a vengeance. The snow continued to fall until it was full six feet deep upon a level, and it remained upon the ground until the month of May. This long dreary winter did not much contribute to reconcile us to this country.

As spring came on, and the snow began to melt away, Mrs. C had an attack of severe illness, which continued for some time. On the 10th of June, she still continuing

indisposed, while I was absent for the purpose of procuring medical advice, I myself became suddenly attacked with illness, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I reached home, the distance which I had to go being about four miles, and this distance I had to walk on foot. The attack proved to be a fever of a type and character which was then and there denominated the *Lorey Fever*. This fever often hung about patients for several months. In my case, however, by means of violent remedies, it was broken, so that in a little more than a month I was again able to walk out.

I had now fully determined to avail myself of the earliest opportunity to return to the United States. There were several considerations urging me to this determination,—the severity of the climate, the inadaptness of the country to agricultural pursuits, the difficulties of procuring the means of subsistence, and above all the immorality of the inhabitants. Many of the settlers were old disbanded troops, made up of all nations. I could not think of bringing up a family in the midst of such abounding wickedness.¹⁴

To afford a more adequate conception of the difficulties and hardships to which we were subjected while we were in Nova Scotia, I will here relate one or two incidents.

A Moose Hunt

One of the resources upon which we depended to supply ourselves with food, was hunting the moose, a species of animal between the deer and buffalo, which ranged the wild forests of Nova Scotia. After having killed one of these animals, if there were not hands enough in the party to carry the meat home, we covered it up in the snow and returned afterwards for the remainder. We started one day, several of us, on an expedition of this sort, to bring home some moose meat already killed and buried in the snow. The distance was about eighteen miles through the forest, the snow was at least six feet deep, and we were obliged to use snow shoes to get along at all. We arrived at the place where the meat was deposited about sunset, and having dug the snow away with our snow shoes, we kindled a fire, and cooked a portion of the meat for our supper, which, though we had neither bread nor vegetables, we highly relished. Having encamped for the night upon the snow, we arose with the early dawn, and partook of some of our roasted moose for our breakfast, as we had the evening before for our supper. I then took one quarter of the animal, which weighed seventy-four pounds, upon my shoulder and

¹⁴Such conditions will give the reader some conception of what thousands of American Loyalists who emigrated to Nova Scotia during and after the Revolutionary War, endured for their political convictions.

started for home, the snow settling every step I took, six or eight inches beneath the snow shoe. After reaching within three miles of home night overtook us. We stopped at an old cabin where we found a few frozen potatoes. Here we struck fire and having roasted some of these potatoes, we ate them with a good relish. We sat down for a while and rested ourselves; in the meantime the moon arose and shone brightly upon the glistening snow, we again pursued our way, and reached home about twelve o'clock at night.

Sick and
without
Bread

I will relate another incident—far more trying to my feelings. While I and my wife lay sick, a period to which I have already referred, our breadstuff became entirely consumed. All that we brought with us was gone, and there was none to be procured in the neighborhood. Our children who were so young that they could not be reasoned with on the subject, were crying for bread. Their parents were both sick and had not a single piece of bread to give them. This awakened a feeling in my bosom that it is impossible to describe. About two days after this, Captain Ward Atwater, Mrs. C's brother, coming in sight of the coast, although he was not aware of our condition, and though he was bound to another port, put into our harbor, and came on shore bringing with him a fine keg of sea biscuit. It seemed as though the hand of God was directly in this event, and had the keg been filled with gold, I should not at the time have been so thankful for it as I was for what it contained.

Return to
the United
States

Having resolved to return to the United States, we were anxious to carry our determination into execution as early as possible. After waiting some time, the only opportunity we could find of obtaining a passage was in a small fishing shallop bound to Boston. So anxious were we to get off that we determined to go in this little vessel, inconvenient as it was.

A Rough
Voyage

Accordingly we embarked August 1, 1789. Previous to our embarkation Mrs. C had not so far recovered from the fit of illness that she had, as to be able to walk. She was borne in a chair by two men for more than half a mile to the shallop, and after we started she became very sea sick, and continued so during the whole voyage, so that she was not at any time scarcely able to hold up her head. To add to my affliction our two children were taken ill with the dysentery, and remained so nearly all the time till we reached Boston, which was thirty days. Another family besides ourselves had taken passage in this little fishing vessel. They had several children, and there was no cabin except the fore-peak; here we were all huddled together like sheep in a pen. Upon crossing the mouth of the Bay of Fundy we encountered a gale which drove us up

into the bay so far that it required a day and a half sail for us to get down again. At length, after many trials, we reached Boston, September 1, 1789.

We had gone out from our country with the avails of one of our little farms, we had spent two summers abroad, and now we returned empty and broken in health. Yet we had much to be thankful for. Mrs. C had been very much benefited by the passage so that soon after we landed, she seemed quite herself again.

Problems of
Reaching
Home

I mentioned that we landed at Boston. We were then one hundred and fifty miles from our old home at New Marlborough. The question was, how were we to travel over this distance to reach home. As I mentioned before, there was another family that came out with us. They desired to go part of the way to New Marlborough. So we jointly hired an ox-team, for which we were to pay twenty five cents per mile. This was the only conveyance answering our necessities that we could command. In this we travelled fifty miles. After this we hired a team wagon drawn by four horses at the same price, with which we went on to Springfield, Massachusetts. Here our travelling companions left us. I could obtain no conveyance but an ox-team, and that only for twelve miles. At the end of this distance we found ourselves set down at the foot of a lofty mountain. How we were to pass over it we knew not. We still were miles from the place of our destination. Our pecuniary means were well nigh exhausted. No team of any kind could be procured. What therefore was to be done? It is said that necessity is the mother of invention. We could get a horse, and Mrs. C could ride upon its back. I myself could go on foot. But how were our children to be carried? The eldest [William Atwater Clark] was only a little over three years old, and the other [Orin] not quite two. We found a way. Mrs. C mounted the horse, and took Orin in her lap before her. William A was then put on behind, and lashed fast to the saddle, as he could not hold on of himself. We left our baggage and whatever effects we had, to be brought on when the horse was returned. Thus mounted we went on until at length we arrived safely at the place of our former home.

Triumph
over
Obstacles

Though we had come back to the place of our former residence, we found ourselves destitute of almost everything necessary to living. We brought nothing back with us except what was contained in the chests, together with our bedding. Things now looked dark. My wife was sick most of the time. We had no house, no provisions, no furniture, no cows, no team, no farming utensils, and money barely sufficient to purchase a single cow. Though in this destitute situation I was by no means discouraged. I went to work and kept at it night and day. As I before

mentioned, when I embarked for Nova Scotia I rented out a small farm which I still retained. The time for which this was leased did not expire till six months after my return. We were therefore without a house to cover our heads. Upon this place however there was an unoccupied building originally put up for a blacksmith shop. This I fitted up and made it tenantable until I could come into possession of my farm. We remained in this through the winter, and by spring I had procured by my labor sufficient provision to last until harvest. I was also soon able to purchase some furniture, a team, and the necessary farming utensils. And now as our home comforts began to return to us, I did not regret the time and money I had spent in going to Nova Scotia. We had seen a great deal, and learned a great deal, and especially we had learned to be contented and thankful for the comforts that we enjoyed.

Death of
Four
Children

We remained in New Marlborough some five or six years, during which time we lost four children, the oldest of which was only two days old. They were deposited in the ground side by side, where their dust still slumbers.

Moves to
Another
Farm

I found in a few years that my farm was altogether too small, as it contained only thirty-six acres. I therefore sold it and purchased another of 100 acres in Tyringham, the next adjoining town north of us. We removed there in February 1794, and remained there nine years. During this period we met with sundry reverses; sickness and pecuniary losses, mingled with many blessings, checkered our lot. Mrs. C had during this period a severe fit of sickness, and we were called to lay another infant in the grave. Various other temporal afflictions came upon us. I was not however, at this period, at all discouraged by any of the various disasters we encountered, but went on full of hope and working with undamped ardor.

Death of
their Fifth
Child

Concern
for the
Education
of his
Children

In our situation, however, we found one serious inconvenience. We were full a mile and a half from school, and lived in a very snowy region, and upon a road very little travelled. My two sons were now of a sufficient age to attend school, but could not possibly go in the winter on account of the distance and the depth of the snow. I had long determined to give my children the best advantages of education in my power, although I had to work nights to do it. I had myself suffered so much from the want of opportunities of early education that I determined to afford my children these if I gave them nothing else. I accordingly bought an addition to my farm with a house on the main road only a half mile from the school house. Here we found ourselves in a larger and more comfortable abode, and quite in the vicinity of the school. In this house Clarissa was born February 15, 1796.

A Disaster

Some time after this a terrible disaster occurred which I will here record. A barn was to be raised in the neighborhood. My two sons attended the raising. While in the act of raising a section of the frame, a portion of the men let go their hold, or the timber in some way slipped, and the whole fell down, catching the body of my son Orion between the falling beam and the sill. When the beam was lifted up, and he was taken out, he was supposed to be dead. But through the tender mercy of the Lord the signs of life returned, no bones were found broken, and in a few weeks he was again restored to health. William A. also, and Eli Clark, my youngest brother, were at the same time considerably injured.

Orin's
Affliction

Not long after this another serious affliction came upon us. Orin was attacked with an epileptic fit, and appeared for a while most seriously ill. But by the divine blessing he again recovered.

Returning
Prosperity

June 2, 1798, Charlotte was born, and appeared more healthy than any child which her mother ever had had. During these years I enjoyed remarkably good health, and was prospered in adding considerably to my worldly store, so that in point of living we were now every way comfortable, being happily contented upon moderate means.

Influence
of the
Episcopal
Church

It is time however that I should give some account of a change in my religious views.

I united with the Congregational Church without fully understanding the doctrines they held. Indeed I took it as a matter of course that this was the Church of Christ, and that its creed was in entire accordance with the oracles of truth. My parents, I say, were bigotedly attached to their own faith. They were particularly prejudiced against the Episcopal Church.¹⁵ When I was a boy, I recollect hearing them say that the Episcopalians were scarcely a whit behind the Roman Catholics in errors of doctrine. The knowledge I acquired of the Episcopal Church through my wife and her family, led me to a different conclusion. During my residence in Nova Scotia we attended the Episcopal Church and became acquainted with a number of Church people, who gave every evidence of decided piety. This rather prepossessed me in favor of the Episcopal Church.

Still, however, after our return to New Marlboro', we again connected ourselves with the church of which we had been formerly members. During our former residence in this town, William Atwater, my oldest son, was baptized by the Congregational minister, and Orin received baptism, just before we embarked for Nova Scotia, from

¹⁵This was a very common attitude in New England both before and after the Revolutionary War.

Agitation
over
Calvinistic
Extremes

the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ives,¹⁶ the Episcopal clergyman at Wallingford. During our residence at Nova Scotia, I not only became acquainted with many excellent church people, but also I became more conversant with the doctrines held by the Episcopal Church.¹⁷

My mind for some time had been agitated on certain points. It was a matter which I could not solve, or reconcile with the known and revealed attributes of the divine character, how a given and determined portion of mankind were created and destined by an irreversible decree for all eternity to be everlastingly miserable, and that this reprobate portion should include non-elected infants as well as adults. And yet this doctrine was constantly preached in the church we attended. While my mind was still exercised in relation to this point, one of the works of Calvin fell in my way which still more unsettled me. I then examined the creed or articles of confession of the church of which we were members. I found there, distinctly laid down, the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation, of the final perseverance of saints, irresistible grace, and the monstrous dogma that Christ had no command from his Father, neither was it in any way his purpose, to redeem all mankind, but the elect only.

Notwithstanding these things appeared to me inconsistent with the disclosures of the gospels which seemed to offer salvation to all, my early precepts still prevailed, and I could not give up the church of my father. It was

¹⁶The Rev. Reuben Ives (October 26, 1762-October 4, 1836), a native of Cheshire, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale, was ordered deacon by Bishop Seabury on September 2, 1786, and ordained priest on February 24, 1788, and for about two years was the bishop's assistant at New London. In 1788 he became the rector of the Church in Cheshire, and also was in care of Wallingford. He organized parishes in Southington, Meriden, and Hamden. The Episcopal Academy, established at Cheshire in 1795, "was the first institution of the kind strictly belonging to the Church in New England, and one of the first in the country; and the agency of the Rev. Reuben Ives was probably beyond that of any other man in securing its location at Cheshire." In 1808 Isaac Jones, the Congregational minister at Bethany, entered the Episcopal Church and a large portion of his congregation followed him. This new parish was placed under Ives of Cheshire, "who was a judicious and zealous moulder of the material that had been suddenly thrown into his hands." Ives died in his 74th year.

¹⁷At this point in John Clark's autobiography, his son, the Rev. Dr. John Alonzo, interjects the following note:

"I proceed with the account which my father gives of the manner in which he was led to transfer his connection from the Congregational to the Episcopal Church. Perhaps it is quite natural that his disgust with the supra-lapsarian calvinistic views that were constantly rung in his ears, should lead him to an extreme on the Arminian side of the question. We allow him, however, to speak for himself."

Dr. John Alonzo Clark was a Low Churchman of the Evangelical type after the order of Bishops Meade and McIlvaine, in contrast to the 18th century Low Churchmanship of Bishop White or of his older brothers, William and Orin, who were Hobartian High Churchmen. This note would indicate that his father, John, was more akin to William's and Orin's views than to those of John Alonzo.

this same feeling that led me upon our return from Nova Scotia, to go back to the Congregational Church. But the more I read and reflected, the more I became dissatisfied with the extreme doctrines of high Calvinism.

When we left New Marlborough and went to Tyng-
ham, we carried with us letters of recommendation from the church we left, certifying our good and regular standing, and asking for admission into the Congregational Church at Tyng-
ham.

Congrega-
tional
Polity

It was a singular arrangement among the Congregational churches of New England at that period, and I believe the same is true of them at present, that each church was independent of all others, each had its own particular articles of confession. Hence some of these churches were much more Calvinistic than others, just according to [how] the minister and the leading and influential members of the congregation might have received the particular hue of their faith. Upon presenting our letters of recommendation to the minister of the Congregational church at Tyng-
ham, we were informed that we could not be received into full communion in that church until we had resided in that town for one year. This appeared to me to be a singular arrangement, especially as in the same church persons hopefully converted, but never having been members of the church, were admitted to full membership after having been propounded two weeks.

Controversy
with the
Congrega-
tional
Minister

I could not but remark to the minister upon this novel and, as it appeared to me, inconsistent arrangement. He however replied that persons bringing letters from other churches might have been sound and orthodox in their views, but at the time of their leaving, they might have fallen into Arminian errors, and that the church over which he presided wished to keep out this leaven. I then requested him to show me the articles of faith held by his church. I found that they gave a most conspicuous prominence to what appeared to me the most objectionable features of extreme Calvinism. I asked for explanations; we soon got into discussion and downright controversy. This was renewed from time to time, as we had opportunity of meeting. His view was that the Almighty God by an irresistible decree did from all eternity elect a portion of mankind to eternal life, without any regard to their faith or repentance whatever, and that by the same decree he consigned all the rest of mankind to eternal damnation, without any regard to their impenitence or infidelity whatever. I desired him to reconcile this doctrine with his own preaching in which he had certainly set forth other views. The sermons to which I particularly referred were two discourses, in which he asserted that God was sincere in the offer of life and salvation which he made to all in the

Gospel; that every person had the sufficient ability to accept the terms of salvation, and that all the promises and threatenings addressed to sinners were conditional and would be fulfilled according to the course of conduct they pursued. He could in no way reconcile these two sets of opinions, and the result was that I decided never to connect myself with his church.

John Clark's
beliefs

I then fully believed, as I do now, in the depravity and corruption of our nature and the necessity of the operation of the Holy Spirit to change us into the likeness and image of God. I believed that we are saved by grace, that Christ must be our entire dependence, that we are justified by believing on him, that we could evidence this saving faith only by corresponding holiness of life, and that if saved at last, we should ascribe the whole praise and glory to the sovereign grace and mercy of God in Christ.

Conversion
to the
Episcopal
Church

I found upon examination that the same views I had formed to myself as scriptural, were held by the Episcopal Church, without those extremes of Calvinism which had now become so revolting to my mind. In the meantime a number of books were put in my way, treating upon the subject of the Christian ministry, showing that it was divinely constituted, that there were originally three orders in the ministry, and that the right of ordination rested solely in the highest order. I studied these books for about three months and became thoroughly convinced of the truth and apostolic origin of Episcopacy. I also, from the evidence brought to view by the authors I read, became thoroughly persuaded that the Protestant Episcopal Church of America and the Church of England were pure and sound branches of that original Episcopal Church established in Apostolic days. I then felt a desire to enjoy the privileges of that Church. I also wished my neighbors and friends might see this matter as I did. "I believed and therefore I spake."¹⁸

An
Episcopal
Church
Organized

The result was that in a short time a number of other families left the Congregational Church along with us. There were also in that quarter a few Episcopalians, and we formed ourselves into a society, and organized an Episcopal Church and established regular lay-reading on Sunday. We in a short time numbered as many as thirty families.¹⁹

¹⁸This attitude is the essence of the missionary spirit and it could scarcely be better stated.

¹⁹This example of a congregation being kept together by faithful laymen maintaining lay-reading in the absence of settled priests or deacons, was widely followed in all parts of the country during the nineteenth century. It was especially important in western New York, and probably in other parts of New England, during the episcopates of Bishop Hobart and Bishop Griswold.

Re-Baptism

After I became fully convinced that the Episcopal Church was the true Apostolic Church, I could not see how ordinances administered by those that were not episcopally ordained could be valid. I therefore was re-baptized and also had my eldest son, William Atwater, re-baptized. I have ever since, in looking back upon this act, felt entirely justified in it.²⁰ We were re-baptized by the Rev. Mr. Thatcher.²¹

Senior
Warden and
Lay Reader
of the
Episcopal
Church

I was appointed senior warden of the church and upon me devolved the duty of reading the service and often the sermon. We procured what preaching we could, but we seldom were favored with the presence of a minister oftener than once in four weeks. The Rev. Mr. Burhans²² of Lanesboro occasionally came and officiated for us on a week day, and when he came he always put up with us, so that I enjoyed in this way the means of becoming more perfectly instructed in the doctrines and usages of the Episcopal Church.

Moves to
Pittsfield

After going on several years in this way, I became anxious to enjoy the constant and weekly ministrations of the sanctuary and the advantages of a faithful pastor. I wished also that my family should be brought up in the enjoyment of the administrators of the word and ordinances of the Gospel. With this in view I sold my property in

²⁰In this, of course, he went beyond the teaching and practice of the Episcopal Church regarding baptism.

²¹The Rev. GAMALIEL THATCHER was ordered deacon June 8, 1800, by Bishop Jarvis of Connecticut, and priest June 3, 1801, during the diocesan convention, by the same bishop. He became rector in the latter year of Christ Church, Balstown, New York, and served the surrounding territory, including Lanesborough, Massachusetts, from December 1799 to December 1801. Beginning in June, 1804, he became one of the earliest missionaries of the diocese of New York, ministering at Utica and points east. On August 14, 1804, he organized Trinity Church, Utica, and the Committee for Propagating the Gospel reported to the diocesan convention of 1804 that "Mr. Thatcher appears to have labored diligently" in his district. He disappears from the New York diocesan journal. Burgess' "List of Deacons" reports him as having died in 1806.

²²The Rev. DANIEL BURHANS (July 7, 1763-December 30, 1853) was ordained deacon by Bishop Seabury on June 5, 1793, and priest, June 8, 1794. He was rector of St. Luke's Church in Lanesboro, Massachusetts, 1793-1799. Beginning June, 1799, he was rector of Trinity Church, Newtown, Connecticut, where he remained some thirty years. Dr. Beardsley says of him (*History of the Church in Connecticut*, II., 371):

"For thirty years he labored faithfully and successfully as rector of Trinity Church, Newtown, and, after relinquishing this charge, he continued to officiate in other parishes of the diocese, until age and infirmity compelled him to retire from the exercise of ministerial duties. His fine personal appearance, good elocution, and sound practical judgment supplied, in some degree, the defects of early education, and gave him, in his better days, great influence in his parish, and in the councils of the Diocesan and General Conventions."

Burhans was the last survivor of those ordained by Bishop Seabury. He died December 30, 1853, having passed nearly six months beyond his ninetieth birthday—thus surviving John Clark and all of the latter's sons. [See William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V., pp. 410-414.]

Considers
Entering the
Ministry

Tyringham at a considerable sacrifice, and purchased a field in Pittsfield, Berkshire County [Massachusetts].

About this time I had a strong impression upon my mind that it was my duty to devote what property I had to qualifying myself for the work of the ministry. Having however at this time a wife and four children to provide for, and considering my age and the small advantages of early education I enjoyed, I came to the conclusion that that was not the line of my duty. But I have often doubted since whether I pursued the right course, and thought perhaps I ought to have sought to have overcome all difficulties, and given myself up to the work of the ministry.

Some Bad
Neighbors

The farm which I purchased adjoined one belonging to a family named Keeler, a family that were the scourge and terror of the whole neighborhood and town. The old man was a wily, shrewd manager, full of trickery and dishonesty. He brought up a family of five sons in his own views. They all became proficient in vice, and a terror to the whole country around. They were connected with a gang of horse thieves, and for years drove this business without being fully detected. Whenever displeased with any of their neighbors, they proceeded to take summary vengeance upon them by inflicting some injury upon their property, and often upon the domestic animals belonging to them.

For instance, there was a grist mill on the Housatonic, near the outlet of the pond, upon the borders of which the farm lay. They were suspected on one occasion of breaking open the mill and helping themselves to some flour. This suspicion the miller did not hesitate openly to express. To inflict suitable vengeance upon him, one of the sons went to the miller's stable, took one of the horses and rode it to Hancock, an adjoining town, and there cut off its head and stuck it up on a stump. Facts sufficient to leave no doubt upon the mind of any reasonable person were brought out in court to show that Isaac Keeler was the actor in this scene, but still the evidence was not sufficient to convict him. Mr. Platt, the miller, anticipated an attack upon the remaining horse. He therefore, by means of a long cord, connected with the stable door, which was opened by sliding, a bell, which was placed near his bed. The stable door could not be shoved open without pulling the bell off the shelf onto the floor, which would wake up the miller without being heard by the thief. One night the miller heard the bell fall upon the floor. He sprang upon his feet and ran to the stable, where he found the door open, the horse in the yard, and one of the Keelers in the act of mounting him.

I purchased my farm at a very reduced price from the

constant apprehension in which the previous owner lived, that he might be destroyed sooner or later by the hands of one of these depraved men. We got along with them perhaps better than most of our neighbors, although they were constantly committing depredations upon us. The first year of our residence in Pittsfield they stole all the onions we raised, which were about a dozen bushels. At one time they took from us forty yards of linen cloth which was left out over night to bleach.

Other
Outrages

But the most wanton pieces of conduct of which they were guilty in reference to us, were the two following outrages. On one occasion during the fourth of July, while I was absent, they let down the fence and drove into a noble corn field which I had, more than twenty head of cattle and left them to make what havoc they chose.

At another time I had a very fine cow that had a calf about a week old. In one corner of the pasture where the cow was turned to graze, there was a little thicket of wood. The animal was very gentle and would allow herself to be handled in any way. Two of the Keelers drove her into this thicket. There was there a little chestnut or walnut tree that, about two or three feet from the ground, went off as it shot upwards into two equal branches which gradually receded from each other and appeared like two separate trees. These two main stocks of the tree thus formed an acute angle at their junction, which would hardly admit the insertion of one's hand or wrist but that they gradually receded from each other, so that a foot or two above this point a cow's or horse's leg might be thrust between them. These two Keelers, having driven the cow to this tree, succeeded in lifting one of her forward legs up into this place and, as the animal pulled to extricate herself, she drew her foot down into the vertex of the angle and was held fast. The harder she pulled, the closer she was held. To make the nefarious work more certain, they cut the skin entirely around the ankle that was there held fast. This cow was remarkably fond of her young. The thought of her calf, for it was now towards evening, the time in which she usually neat (*sic*) her calf, and the pain she endured, goaded her on to unceasing efforts to disengage herself. We did not find her until next morning; and then we found nothing left in the ankle but the sinews which, having the foot attached, still held her fast; the bones near her foot, by means of the effort she had made to free herself, being crushed into atoms.

I seldom took any notice of this family's aggressions, but endeavored to keep them at a distance from me. In this way I held them in some awe, and so far enjoyed their respect and favor that when they got into difficulty, which

they frequently did even among themselves, they almost immediately applied to me to mediate a settlement. This gave me an opportunity of counselling them and endeavoring to exert some influence among them. Though this family at one time possessed considerable means, they frittered it away and finally died, not only in poverty, but with the curses and hatred of all men upon their heads.

A third
future Priest
of the
Episcopal
Church born

Our removal to Pittsfield took place March 2, 1801. The following May upon the 6th day of the month, *John Alonzo*²³ was born. About two years and a half after, we had another infant born, which however lived but a short

²³JOHN ALONZO CLARK (May 6, 1801—November 27, 1843). Fifteen years younger than William A. and thirteen years younger than Orin, John Alonzo Clark had a much shorter ministry in western New York than his brothers, belonged to a different school of churchmanship, and made his reputation as a city rector rather than as a missionary.

His preparatory studies were carried on under the direction of his brothers, following his father's removal into western New York. He entered the junior class of Union College, 1821, and graduated 1823. He then began the study of theology at Geneva under the Rev. Dr. McDonald and continued it at the General Theological Seminary, New York City.

On April 12, 1826, he was ordered deacon by Bishop Hobart in All Saints Church, New York, of which his brother William was then rector. In October of the same year he married Sarah Buell of Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York, by whom he had nine children, six of whom died before him.

His ministry began in the mission field of Wayne County, which borders on Lake Ontario, especially in the towns of Palmyra, Lyons, and Sodus, where he remained three years. On October 16, 1827, Bishop Hobart advanced him to the priesthood.

In 1829 John Alonzo became assistant to Dr. Thomas Lyell, rector of Christ Church, New York City. Here he revealed himself to be not of the high church school of Bishop Hobart and of his brothers, but of the evangelical school of Meade, McIlvaine, Bedell and Tyng. Here also he became known as a most impressive preacher of the evangelical type. "He sometimes will make your flesh creep by the solemnity of and impressiveness of his manner in his appeals to sinners," said Dr. Lyell of him.

In 1832 he was called to Grace Church, Providence, then a feeble parish of 41 communicants. Within seven months the number increased to 157. An energetic, unremitting worker in spite of a frail constitution, he conducted weekday religious meetings in private houses, which he called "parochial visitations", with hymns and prayers and pleas for faith and repentance. H. B. Huntington (*A History of Grace Church, Providence, Rhode Island, 1829-1929*; Providence, 1931; p. 27) says of his work in that parish:

"It is doubtful if among the many remarkable men who have exercised their ministry in Grace Church there has been one of more magnetic personality than that of this pioneer, so filled was he with the zeal of the Lord and the fire of His spirit."

In 1835 he was called to succeed the late Dr. Gregory T. Bedell as rector of St. Andrew's, Philadelphia, one of the outstanding evangelical parishes of the day. After two years of arduous work to which his body was not equal, he went abroad for nine months. In 1840 Kenyon College honored him with the degree of doctor of divinity. Finding disease again overtaking him, he resigned his rectorship in the spring of 1843 and died the following autumn at the age of 42.

John Alonzo Clark was "of slight figure, perfectly erect, and in his walk there was a firm, self-reliant bearing, which indicated a man of earnest mind and decided purpose. . . . As you first looked upon his countenance, you saw

Death of
their sixth
child out
of eleven

Confirmed
by Bishop
Griswold

A Church
Warden and
Peacemaker

time after its birth, this being our eleventh and last child.

We remained in Pittsfield thirteen years. During that period we were uniform in our attendance upon the services of the Episcopal Church at Lanesboro. In this church both Mrs. C. and myself were confirmed by Bishop Griswold.²⁴

Captain Bradley,²⁵ one of the older members of this Church, having given to the parish a glebe of land of sixteen acres, I gladly with others united in assisting to build a parsonage house on this glebe. I was here also appointed one of the wardens of the Church and was on one very important occasion instrumental in bringing about peace. Two of the most influential members of the Church got at variance, and carried their dispute so far as to charge each other with the most unchristian conduct. The rector of the Church, the Rev. Mr. Pardee,²⁶ tried in vain to effect

nothing specially attractive in his dark complexion, and the rather irregular grouping of his features; but these were lost sight of in his general expression, which revealed a spirit that had evidently been touched and moulded by the divine power of Christianity, and which withal was no stranger to the gracious chastening of our Heavenly Father. . . ." (The Rev. Francis Peck, 1857.)

[For a list of John Alonzo Clark's publications and other details, see William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V., 674-679. Unpublished manuscripts, *Life and Memories of Rev. John Alonzo Clark* and *Biography of the Rev. John Alonzo Clark*, are in the library of the Church Historical Society, Philadelphia.]

²⁴This could not have happened before 1811, since Alexander Viets Griswold (April 22, 1766—Feb. 15, 1843) was not consecrated bishop of the Eastern Diocese, which included all of New England except Connecticut, until May 29, 1811. Bishop Hobart of New York was consecrated at the same service. This date is usually taken by historians as a turning point in the history of the Episcopal Church. They not only symbolized the revival of the Church which was increasingly visible from that time on, but they did much to bring it to pass. Each was just the right man for the particular jurisdiction to which he was called. Bishop Griswold was so earnest, faithful, wise, and lowly, that in a few years his coming was a time of special interest to almost the whole community. An old Congregationalist expressed the common feeling: "He is the best representative of an Apostle that I have ever seen, particularly because he does not know it." Bishop Griswold made his first visitation of St. Luke's Church, Lanesboro, Massachusetts, in July, 1811, and it was probably on this visitation that John Clark and his wife were confirmed. It was probably the first visitation of any bishop at Lanesborough.

²⁵EPHRAIM BRADLEY, who represented the parish in the annual diocesan convention of 1812.

²⁶The Rev. AMOS PARDEE was ordered deacon by Bishop Bass of Massachusetts sometime during 1798, the exact date being unknown; the date of his ordination to the priesthood was January 20, 1799, by Bishop Jarvis of Connecticut. Rector of St. Luke's, Lanesboro, February 1802—September, 1818. The condition of the parish during his incumbency is very imperfectly known. In 1812 he reported fifty families and forty communicants; in 1816 he reported thirteen adult and one infant baptisms, three marriages, one death, and forty communicants. During six years there was no increase in the number of communicants. In September, 1818, Pardee became a missionary in western New York at Manlius, Onondaga county, and parts adjacent. He died December 21, 1849. Pardee was the successor of his former parishioner, William Atwater Clark, as missionary at Manlius, N. Y. Pardee was "a laborious and faithful priest and missionary." [See Calvin R. Batchelder, *A History of the Eastern Diocese*, II, pp. 84-85, 89-91.]

William and
Orin desire
to study
for the
Ministry

a reconciliation between them. I saw that the course things were taken would be ruinous to the interests of the Church, and therefore went and labored a long time with each one of them separately, and induced them to have an interview which terminated in a complete reconciliation, and harmony was again restored to our body.

It was some time in the year 1804 that my eldest son, William A., began to express a desire to procure for himself a liberal education. This was a season of considerable trial to me. I had just commenced building a new house and was considerably in debt. My son's services were of great importance to me and I scarcely knew how to spare him.²⁷

Still I thought it my duty to give way and yield to his wishes. In this matter I am confident I acted right, for his mind soon became seriously impressed; and in a short time subsequent to this, he felt it his duty to resolve to devote his life to the work of the ministry. Not more than two years subsequent to this, my second son, Orin, had his mind directed to the same object. The withdrawal of the services of my sons from me at a period when their services were most useful and when I stood in particular need of them, seemed quite a trial to me, although it was a source of high satisfaction to me that their minds were drawn to so glorious a work as that of preaching the everlasting gospel to a lost and dying world.

Parental
Influence

I had no doubt of the purity of their motives, as they both gave evidence of a thorough change of heart and life. Their mother, who was herself a model of piety, had taken the most unwearied pains to imbue their minds with the love of divine things, and to lead them in a way in which they should go, and I had striven not to be wanting on my part. I record it as one of the greatest mercies which the Lord hath bestowed upon me, that he led all my children to give up their hearts to him in early life. Some of them, we trust, are already members of the Church triumphant, and those that survive are members of the Church militant.

Sacrifices of
Orin for an
Education

My son Orin was led to devote himself to the Saviour by a view of the astonishing and unnumbered mercies of God. The love of Christ constrained him to enter upon the work of the ministry. To effect this he was ready to make any sacrifice. The last summer he remained on the farm, he learned the whole of the Latin grammar while laboring in the field, or at night after the severe labors of the day. While plowing whenever the team stopped to breathe, he instantly took out his book which he car-

²⁷This is an illustration of how children, especially boys, were an economic asset in an agricultural economy, whereas, today, in an industrial economy, they are an economic liability. The former condition is an important factor in a high birth rate; the latter, in a low birth rate.

ried in his pocket and read and studied till it was time for them to start again. Thus by these snatches of time, he made considerable progress in learning before he actually and in good earnest commenced his studies.

Episcopal
Academy at
Cheshire

Not long after this, both my eldest sons became students at the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, Connecticut,²⁸ where they continued and completed their studies, and took Orders in the Episcopal Church. William A. went to this institution one year before his brother. In order to support themselves at this institution, as I was able to do but comparatively little for them, they taught school winters and spent their summers at Cheshire. After a while they obtained an annual stipend from some educational fund at New York,²⁹ by which they were enabled to devote all their time to their studies.

²⁸THE EPISCOPAL ACADEMY at Cheshire, Connecticut. The revival of the Church in Connecticut under Bishop Seabury was substantial. He felt strongly the need of an institution for the Christian education of both clergy and laity under Church control. In 1788 steps were taken with this end in view, but because of the poverty of the times and the opposition of the Congregational "standing order", the plan was not perfected until 1795, the academy did not begin operation until 1796, and its charter from the State was not obtained until 1801, and this charter did not give it full college privileges.

In 1796 the Rev. Dr. John Bowden (Jan. 7, 1751—July 31, 1817) became the first principal and continued as such until 1802, when he accepted a professorship in Columbia College, New York City.

Bowden was succeeded (1802) by the Rev. Dr. William Smith (c. 1754-April 6, 1821), who is not to be confused with his uncle and namesake of Philadelphia and Maryland. Smith resigned in 1806 because the diocesan convention of Connecticut was dissatisfied with the academy's condition: the number of students was declining, the building was decaying, its reputation diminishing.

Under the Rev. Dr. Tillotson Bronson (1762-Sept. 6, 1826), a graduate of Yale (1786), who was ordained deacon, September 21, 1787, and priest, February 25, 1788, by Bishop Seabury, the academy flourished. He was principal from 1806 to 1826. For many years it was the Church's only institution for fitting young men for their entrance upon strictly theological studies, and many of them undertook the latter there.

Repeated requests (1804, 1810, 1811) to the Connecticut legislature for a charter with full college privileges, were blocked by the dominant control of that body by the Congregational Church, which was the established church of Connecticut until 1818. Up to 1810 the number of students from different parts of the United States and from the West Indies had generally been from fifty to seventy. The petitioners for the college charter stated that at that time (1810), "about thirty colleges have been established in different parts of the United States by Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, and Roman Catholics," sanctioned by the various state legislatures, "but not a single college NOW exists in any part of the Union, which is under the government and instruction of Episcopalians."

The successful revolution of 1818, whereby the Congregational "standing order" was overthrown, opened the way for a solution of the collegiate problem in the shape of a brand new institution, Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, whose charter was granted May 16, 1823.

Both the Clark brothers studied under Dr. Bronson.

²⁹On August 16, 1802, the vestry of Trinity Church, New York City, organized the "Protestant Episcopal Society for Promoting Religion and Learn-

Ordinations

William A. was ordained deacon³⁰ in 1810 by Bishop Moore³¹ and priest in 1812 by Bishop Hobart.³² Orin plied his studies with such intense application that he brought on a hemorrhage at the lungs, so that he was obliged to abandon his books for three months. He was ordained in October 1811³³ by the Rt. Rev. Samuel (*sic*) Jarvis, D. D., at New Haven.³⁴

Early
Missionaries
in Western
New York

Both my sons went into western New York as missionaries. With the exception of old Mr. Phelps,³⁵ who

ing in the State of New York," with six ministers and fourteen laymen as trustees. Among its objects were the following:

"The adopting of measures to ensure a sufficient number and succession of pious and learned ministers of the Gospel attached to the excellent doctrines and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church; to afford assistance to such young men as are of good character and competent abilities, but in circumstances which do not admit of prosecuting the study of divinity without aid."

In that very year the income from 22 lots amounting to \$1,000 per year was assigned to the society, and further grants were made to it from time to time until the total amounted to about £21,000 (\$52,500), and 32 lots of land, whose estimated worth in 1855 was about \$120,000.

This society was a powerful factor in recruiting clergy for the diocese of New York and enabling it thus to take advantage of the state's rapid growth. The aid supplied by this society explains why the Clark brothers, natives of New England, began their ministry in New York and not in their homeland.

³⁰William A. Clark was ordained deacon October 31, 1810, by Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York; and priest, September 5, 1812, by Bishop Hobart of that diocese. See above, Footnote No. 12, for a biographical sketch.

³¹The Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore (October 5, 1748-February 27, 1816). Consecrated assistant bishop of New York, September 11, 1801. Bishop Provost had already resigned his jurisdiction, but the General Convention refused to accept it. Bishop Moore was, however, *de facto* diocesan immediately following his consecration and *de jure* bishop of New York after Provost's death, September 6, 1815. President of Columbia College, 1801-1811. Incapacitated by paralysis from 1811 until his death. "He appears to have been the model of a gentle, amiable, and unassuming character."

³²The Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart (September 14, 1775-September 12, 1830). Consecrated assistant bishop of New York, May 29, 1811, but because of Bishop Moore's disability he was virtually diocesan throughout his episcopate. Hobart was one of the two or three greatest bishops of the American Episcopal Church. The lack of a first-rate biography of him is one of the grave omissions of historical scholarship.

³³Orin Clark was ordained deacon October 27, 1811, by Bishop Abraham Jarvis of Connecticut, and priest by Bishop Hobart on or about June 18, 1813. See above, Footnote No. 13, for a biographical sketch.

³⁴The Rt. Rev. Abraham Jarvis (May 5, 1739-May 13, 1813), second bishop of Connecticut (October 18, 1797-May 13, 1813). For his biography see, William A. Beardsley, *Abraham Jarvis*, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, XII, pp. 4-17.

³⁵DAVENPORT PHELPS (1755-June 27, 1813)—"one in whose short ministry [of twelve years] was wrought a great and permanent work of the Church in western New York" (C. W. Hayes *The Diocese of Western New York*, Rochester, 1904, p. 22).

Bishop Hobart said of him (*Journal of the Diocese of New York*, 1813, p. 13): "He is justly revered as the founder of the congregations in the most western part of the state, whom he attached not merely to his personal ministrations, but to the doctrines, the ministry, and the liturgy of our Church."

John Clark
Visits his
Sons

was then at Geneva in feeble health and almost incapacitated for duty, they were in 1811 the only Episcopal missionaries in Western New York. William A.'s missionary circuit lay principally in Onondaga and Cayuga Counties,³⁶ and Orin's in Ontario and Genesee Counties³⁷

Some time during the month of June 1813, myself, Mrs. Clark and our eldest daughter, Clarissa, made a journey from Pittsfield into Western New York. My wife and daughter accompanied me to Auburn where my son, William A., then resided, having been previously married to Jacintha Anspach.³⁸ Here I left Mrs. C. and Clarissa and went to Geneva, where Orin was now residing, having been settled there as the rector of the Episcopal Church in that place. Orin came back with me to Auburn to meet his mother and sister. I was so much pleased with the aspect of things in this region that I felt quite willing to transfer my home to it. But what principally operated upon my mind in deciding me to move into western New York, was that my two eldest sons were now settled, and would probably spend their lives there. William A. was soon to take up

Phelps was born in Hebron, Connecticut. Grandson of Eleazer Wheelock, founder and first president of Dartmouth College, from which Phelps graduated with high honors in 1775. He immediately entered the Continental army and endured a long captivity in Montreal, during which time he became an accomplished French scholar. In 1785 he married Catharine Tiffany of Hanover, New Hampshire.

Through his parents he became the life-long friend of the great Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant. For some fifteen years Phelps was a merchant and lawyer in New Hampshire and Canada, but he long desired to enter the ministry. Brant tried to get him appointed missionary to the Mohawks, but the Canadians were hostile, probably because he had been in the Revolutionary army. In 1800 Brant interceded for him with General Chapin and Aaron Burr. Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York ordained him deacon, December 13, 1801, and priest in St. Peter's Church, Albany, ———1803.

Phelps was 46 years old when he entered the ministry and began his remarkable career as the first general missionary in western parts of New York. Twelve years later he was dead, but in those twelve years he sowed seed for the abundant harvest which began to spring up in the episcopate of John Henry Hobart.

He was buried on the shores of Lake Ontario, west of Putneyville, and on his gravestone was inscribed:

"By his indefatigable exertions in the discharge of all duties of the pastoral office, he succeeded in diffusing much religious knowledge and in forming many churches. He was the devoted servant of God, and the warm and unwearied friend of man."

His wife died at Putneyville, November 17, 1836, and was buried by his side.

³⁶In such towns as Auburn, Skaneateles, and Manlius.

³⁷Geneva, Canandaigua, Bloomfield, and other towns.

³⁸William A. Clark's wife was the daughter of Peter Anspach of Skaneateles, New York. Their marriage was solemnized by Bishop Hobart on September 7, 1812, two days after William A's ordination to the priesthood at Auburn by the same bishop. At this time Auburn was William's headquarters. They had nine children—four sons and five daughters. One of his sons, John W. Clark, was a priest of the Church, and became rector of Grace Church, Chicago.

Moves to
Western
New York

his residence in Manlius, Onondaga County, and it was at this place I proposed to locate myself.

Having sold my farm in Pittsfield and made arrangements to remove into the state of New York, we started Jan'y 17, 1814, on a beautiful bed of snow with four sleighs to transport my family and the effects we proposed to carry. Though the weather was severe, we suffered comparatively little from the cold, so well shielded [were we] from the weather by a cover over the sleigh in which the family rode.

Upon the fifth day after we started, we arrived in safety in Manlius, the place of our destination. We here found ourselves in a pleasant village, consisting at that time of one hundred families, with a neat church and a settled pastor, and that pastor was our own son. For a while we seemed sailing upon a smooth sea. Our three youngest children were at home, with the opportunity of attending an excellent school, and we so near the sanctuary that nothing but absolute sickness need keep us away. At this time the Episcopal Church was the only place of public worship in the place.^{38-a}

Numerous
Conversions

Soon after we took up residence in Manlius there was a very general attention to religion throughout the village. The whole population seemed moved. The excitement continued for some time and issued in the hopeful conversion of a large number of persons. Among the number were our two daughters. I need not say that this was a source of great satisfaction to their mother and myself. Many of the converts had never been baptized, and some of them chose to receive the ordinance by immersion. To me the administration of the ordinance appeared most affecting as I had never before seen any persons baptized in the Episcopal Church by immersion. The largest portion of these new converts connected themselves with the Episcopal Church, though a few joined the Methodist Church.

Marriage of
Charlotte

It was not long after this that Hezekiah Gear of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, requested of me the privilege of addressing my daughter, Charlotte, with a view of offering himself to her in marriage. Although Mr. G was a man of unblemished moral character, and of a highly respectable family, there were peculiarities of disposition in that family which led me to be unwilling that my daughter should be united to him. After discussing the matter in the family, however, I yielded my judgment to theirs, and gave my consent, though reluctantly. In about a year

^{38-a}This is an illustration of how the Episcopal Church was early on the ground of this virgin mission field, contrary to its history in other parts of the country.

from this time, Charlotte was married to Hezekiah and they went to reside in Pittsfield.

Clarissa's
Serious
Accident

Previous to this event, however, Clarissa had a severe fit of sickness. It was brought on by a fall upon the ice, while she was walking out one day in the winter. In putting out her hand to save herself, she sprained her wrist, and slightly fractured one of the small bones in her hand, which so affected her nervous system as to bring on the lockjaw. For several weeks we did not expect her to live from one day to another. It was nearly three months after this accident before she could leave her bed, or press her foot upon the floor.

Depression
following
the War
of 1812

About this time the war in which we were engaged with Great Britain was brought to a close. A great depression in business followed. I had purchased considerable landed property, which was then at a very high price. But the moment the war ceased, all kinds of property sunk more than a hundred per cent in value. It was very difficult to get money, and I came well nigh being reduced to poverty, but after a severe struggle, I succeeded in saving a portion of my hard earned property.

Visit to
Ballston
Spa

In September 1820, myself and wife and Clarissa made a visit to Ballston Springs. Although one great object I had in coming in the state of New York was to live near my children, I had been in Manlius only a few years before my son, Wm. A., moved [1818] to Buffalo, nearly two hundred miles from me. Recently he had transferred [1820] his residence to Ballston Springs, more than a hundred miles from Manlius in the other direction. This is what took us on a visit to Ballston Spa. We went in our own private conveyance. When we were within forty miles of that place, one of our horses was taken sick and it was with great difficulty that we reached Ballston. Soon after, our animal, the horse, died, and I was obliged to buy another, which by a singular fatality was taken sick and I was obliged to procure a third horse. After stopping about two weeks at the Springs, we left Clarissa at her brother's and returned home.

A Serious
Accident

Some time in the following December I met with quite a serious accident. As I was at work with my team, one of my horses, which was newly shod, stepped upon my foot. My boots being thin, the cork went directly through the leather into my foot, partially rupturing one of the arteries just below the wound. This caused the blood to spread under the skin, and to extend up as high as my knee. The whole limb, up to my knee, turned almost perfectly black and it is quite remarkable that it did not mortify, but through the mercy of the Lord my life was spared, and in the course of two or three months I was perfectly restored.

Clarissa's
Illness

While I was suffering from this wound, we received a letter from Ballston, stating that Clarissa was dangerously ill, and desiring that we should hasten there without delay. We almost immediately started upon receiving this summons.

John Alonzo
Studies for
the Ministry

Myself and wife and our youngest son, John A., directed our course with all possible speed towards Ballston. Railroads were then unknown, and we all thought we had accomplished the journey in a very short time, having reached the Springs the evening of the third day after we started. We found Clarissa indeed very ill, and were immediately convinced that the medical treatment to which she had been subjected had been very injudicious. While her complaint was wholly nervous, she had been treated for liver affection. Her physician was induced to change the course of medical treatment and she immediately began to improve. I remained two weeks and her symptoms in the meantime had so much improved that I felt it perfectly safe to leave her, while myself and John A. returned. He stopped at Fairfield, Herkimer County, where, in the academy taught by the Rev. Daniel McDonald, he was pursuing his classical studies with a view to the ministry.³⁹

Mrs. Clark
has the
Measles

In a short time after my return, I received letters stating that Clarissa was rapidly convalescing and was con-

³⁹FAIRFIELD ACADEMY was the predecessor of Hobart College and, in a measure, of the General Theological Seminary. In 1812 the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin of Utica, and missionary at Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York, besought Trinity Church, New York, for a grant for a theological instructor and partial support of four students in divinity in Fairfield Academy, seeing "the necessity of training up 'the sons of the soil' in order to secure them to the Church and provide ministers for her altars."

In 1813 Trinity Church responded with a grant of \$500 per year and an additional sum of \$250 for an assistant teacher. The Rev. Virgil H. Barber became rector and principal, and Samuel Nichols (later ordained) tutor.

In 1817 Mr. Barber was succeeded by the Rev. DANIEL McDONALD (c. 1786-March 25, 1830), of Scottish and New England ancestry, who had been raised a Quaker. A convert to the Episcopal Church, he was baptized as a young man, and after one year at Middlebury College, completed his education at Cheshire Academy, Connecticut, where he studied theology under the Rev. Dr. Tillotson Bronson. He was ordained deacon, March 18, 1810; and priest, December 20, 1812—both ordinations by Bishop Jarvis of Connecticut.

McDonald was tutor in Cheshire Academy, 1806-1813; rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn, New York, 1813-1817; principal of Fairfield Academy, 1817-1821. In 1821 he received the degree of doctor of divinity from Columbia College, New York. In that year the theological branch of Fairfield was transferred to Geneva Academy, and when in 1825 it became Geneva (now Hobart) College, the theological school was given up in favor of the General Theological Seminary in New York City and McDonald became professor of Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, remaining such until his death in 1830. McDonald was an able teacher and a strong churchman.

McDonald was twice married: (1) On October 9, 1807, to Percy, daughter of Samuel and Phebe (Hall) Talmage of Cheshire, Connecticut, who died in June, 1809, leaving one son; (2) on October 8, 1811, he married Phebe Talmage, sister of his first wife, by whom he had eight sons and no daughters. [See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V., pp. 525-530.]

sidered entirely out of danger. I again started to make another journey to Ballston in order to bring Mrs. C. home, as she could now be spared. I found Clarissa quite comfortable. March 21, 1821, Mrs. C and myself started from the Springs on our way homeward. The weather was raw and piercing, and the roads exceeding rough. Mrs. C appeared quite unwell the first day we started, being attacked with a violent cough which seemed continually to grow worse and worse. She at length became so ill, she could scarcely travel. We were, however, on the fifth day able to reach home. We immediately called in our family physician, Dr. G. He thought it was a severe cold she had taken, and would soon be better, but as she continued to grow worse, we sent for him again, when he discovered she was laboring under the measles, which were now fully broke out. The measles were prevailing at Ballston while she was there, but she had taken every precaution to avoid exposure to them, as she feared they might prove fatal to her, having lost a sister by this complaint. She was now very sick, and there seemed but small hopes of her recovery, but through the persevering mercy of our Lord she was spared.

Death of
Clarissa

The next day after Mrs. C became broke out with the measles, we received a letter announcing the melancholy intelligence of Clarissa's death. She also had been attacked with the measles. Her system had been so reduced by her previous sickness that she had not stamina of constitution to bear up against this new enemy. Thus it pleased Almighty God on the 9th day of April 1821, to take out of the world the soul of our beloved child. Her brother, William A., was with her at the time of her departure. She had many years been a communicant of the Church and at this time, when all earthly hope was giving way, appeared sustained by the hopes of the Gospel.

A Season
of Great
Trial

This was a season of great trial with us. My daughter Charlotte, was now with us. Both she and her child and also John A. and my granddaughter, Eliza Clark, were all very sick with the measles in my house. We knew not how soon we would be called to part with some of our other children. Shortly after Clarissa's decease, my son Orin buried his wife, who left behind her three motherless children. Another sore affliction was also at hand. Mr. Gear had made a visit to Illinois and determined to move his family there. This was indeed a severe stroke. We had just buried one daughter, and we felt that we were parting forever with the other. We felt that we should see her no more on earth, and so it was. Although she lived many years, those years in which there were many sufferings and trials, yet she never returned to visit her friends. She died September 13, 1833, in the thirty-

Death of
Orin's Wife

Charlotte
Moves to
Illinois

Her Death

sixth year of her age, yielding herself up with joy into the hands of her Saviour. As my son, John A., was absent pursuing his studies, we no longer had a single child with us.

Moves to Geneva

My son Orin, some two years after Clarissa's death, proposed that I should sell my farm, relinquish severe labor, and remove to Geneva to take the superintendence of his temporal affairs. I acceded to this proposition and purchased a small house in Geneva near my son's, where we took up our abode. We arrived at Geneva May 9, 1823. The next week, Orin, who had been quite ill, started on a jaunt to the south for his health. He went as far as Philadelphia and returned in about six weeks, very much improved in health. We passed many pleasant days in this our new residence, where we could see our son every hour.

Death of Mrs. Clark

But too soon a day of darkness came. January 21, 1825, my dear wife was taken ill, and brought down by a violent sickness from which she never recovered. A bilious fever, with which she was seized, soon ran into typhus which greatly reduced her. Her lungs became affected and she sank still more rapidly under the fervors of the hectic, till March 11, 1825, she fell asleep in Jesus.

John's Grief

This to me was a much greater affliction than any I had before experienced. I was called to part with one of the most lovely of women, one who had been my counsellor and companion in troubles and a light upon my path for nearly forty years. I knew not how much I depended upon her till she was gone, and then I felt as if my heart would break, as though I should become distracted. My earthly light was put out, and had I not been able to look to the Lord and cast my burden on him, I know not how I could have lived. I was at length enabled to say, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." I had no doubt my dear wife had gone to drink of the pleasures that flow from God's right hand.

Soon after her interment I broke up housekeeping and went to reside with my son Orin. The time hung heavy on my hands. My friends advised me to go off on a little jaunt. I made a visit to Manlius, but soon returned. The world seemed desolate and waste to me. In this lonely state of feeling I passed the summer. In October I visited Buffalo and Niagara Falls. I had been very much afflicted with the rheumatism for a number of weeks previous, and found some relief from the journey. Every place, however, through which I went, seemed desolate and lonely. Even the stupendous Falls of Niagara did not at all interest me, and I wondered why they should attract so much attention.

I had previously purchased a farm in Seneca, about

His Second
Marriage

five miles from Geneva. During the following summer I superintended this farm.

I had come to the conclusion that it was best for me at a suitable time to be married again. On the 9th day of April, 1826, I was accordingly married to Mrs. Sarah Sentell in Trinity Church, Geneva, by the Rev. I. T. Stone.⁴⁰ We immediately went to housekeeping on our farm where we have continued ever since.

Death of
Orin's
Second Wife
and of Orin

Many changes have since occurred around us. Susan, Orin's second wife, died July 31, 1826. My beloved son Orin, in manhood's prime, was cut down, and departed this life, February 24, 1828; and my dear Charlotte, as I have already said, died September 13, 1833.

Within the last fourteen years I have lost eight grandchildren. I have also had many intimations of my own mortality. Attacks of disease and accidents of various kinds have brought me repeatedly at death's door. And yet, through the mercy of God, I still live and have now entered my seventy-ninth year.⁴¹

May my heart be suitably affected by the goodness of God and may I be found ready for the final summons whenever it comes.⁴²

⁴⁰Mr. Clark is evidently mistaken in the initials of the Rev. Mr. Stone. There is no I. T. Stone in the clergy lists of this time. The Rev. John S. Stone, who was ordained deacon by Bishop Hobart on January 4, 1826, was a tutor at Geneva (now Hobart) College, Geneva, in 1826. Later he moved to Maryland; St. Paul's Boston; and while rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn, published (1844) "Memoir of the Life of Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese."

⁴¹John Clark was seventy-eight years old on June 6, 1840. This autobiography was accordingly written after his seventy-eighth birthday, probably in July or August of 1840.

⁴²The "final summons" came to John Clark—Layman, on October 29, 1941, in the 80th year of his age, according to the Rev. Malcolm S. Johnston, City Historian of Geneva, New York; which information was supplied to the editor through the courtesy of the Rev. Dr. S. H. Edsall, rector of Trinity Church, Geneva.

In 1882 the Hon. George Stillwell Conover, Geneva historian, transcribed the data from the Clark tombstone in the Pulteney Street Burial Ground of Geneva. Mr. Conover in his biographical sketch of John Clark stated:

"Mr. Clark had a fine physique, was large and well proportioned and drew from a stranger to whom he was introduced, the remark: 'There were giants in *those days*.'"

THE ORIGIN OF THE RIGHTS OF THE LAITY IN THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

*By G. MacLaren Brydon**

THAT a self-supporting parish should have the right to select its own rector, and a self-supporting diocese to choose its own bishop, were two of the distinguishing features written into the Constitution of the American Episcopal Church upon its organization as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in 1785. From the standpoint of the other great branches of the historic Church—Eastern, Roman, Anglican, these provisions adopted by a group of independent dioceses coming together into a federal union were almost if not entirely unique. Along with other provisions of that constitution they constitute the pronouncement of a new principle in Church government; the right of the laity of the Church to have a direct share in the formulation of doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church,¹ and in the choice of their own pastors and leaders.

These rights of the laity have become one of the commonplace facts of our thinking, accepted, and insisted on if need be, as distinguishing marks of the American Episcopal Church. But their origin, and how they came into our Church life, have never been fully and clearly described. Quite clear it is that they originated in America during the

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¹The word "direct" is used advisedly. The laity of the Church of England have always had a sort of indirect representation because of the power of Parliament to legislate for the Established Church. This was not only contrary to American ideas but was often disastrous to the welfare of the Church. Even when, as in colonial times, most of the members of Parliament were members nominally at least of the Church of England, the Parliamentary control of the Church was in the hands often of its most lukewarm adherents. . . . Two results injurious to the Church ensued: (1) The episcopate was packed during the eighteenth century with latitudinarian bishops, hostile to any "enthusiasm" in the Church; (2) These same parliamentary laymen refused to allow bishops to be consecrated for the Church in the colonies.

The later manifestations of this control, whereby Roman Catholics, non-conformists, Jews and infidels, can legislate concerning the Church of England are well known, and most flagrantly illustrated in Parliament's rejection of the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

The American idea of direct representation of the laity at least makes it not only more possible, but more probable, that the laity will be represented by those who are the most devoted members of the Church, and not by those who are only lukewarm or nominal members.

colonial period,—for during that whole period of American beginnings and the transplanting of the Anglican Church to a new land, no parish in England had the right to select its own minister, but must accept the minister selected by the owner of the “advowson,” of that parish; and no diocese in England could select its own bishop, but must accept one nominated to it by the crown. Yet at the close of the American Revolution, as the closing scene of the colonial experience of the Anglican Church in America, when representatives of the Church in the several independent American states and commonwealths came together to organize a union of dioceses, these rights were so widely and so strongly held to belong to the parishes and to the dioceses themselves that there was no effort against their adoption into the constitution of the new national organization. A study of their origins must, therefore, be made in the surviving records of the colonies themselves covering the period in which they came into existence as rights.

It is as true of the development of ecclesiastical rights and freedoms from old and binding restraints as in the development of our political freedom and democratic forms of government, that the student must look first of all at the original charters under which the thirteen original colonies were severally established, to note both the freedoms and the restrictions written into each one.² Such an examination will show as a most striking fact the profound differences both as to civil and religious rights and privileges appearing in these first charters. In analyzing them they may be grouped into classes somewhat as follows:

- I. The charters of Virginia, and Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, as these last four were formed out of the territory of the original New England Company, and under the charter of that Company.
- II. The charters of Maryland and of Carolina, including North Carolina and South Carolina, as proprietary colonies of the palatinate type; and the abortive province of Maine.
- III. The charters of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as proprietary colonies diverging from the palatinate type.
- IV. The charters of Delaware and Georgia, formed from land granted to earlier proprietors which, because formed after the year 1700, do not come into this discussion.

²The original charters, not only of the thirteen American colonies, but also of all the states formed prior to 1877, were published in that year by the Government Printing Office under the title, *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the United States*. Compiled under order of the United States Senate by Benjamin Perley Poore. 2 Vols. It will be referred to in the following notes by the name “Poore”. The charter of Maryland is given in this work in the original Latin. For a translation see histories of Maryland by Bozman, or Matthew Page Andrews.

The differences in civil and political self-government and freedom of action, as well as in ecclesiastical matters, between the colonies organized under the Virginia and New England charters on the one hand, and the proprietary charters on the other, are most striking: but as this discussion is primarily of religious and ecclesiastical rights and privileges the civil and political differences can be touched upon only as they bear upon religious affairs, and fuller examination of them must be left for another study.

I. THE CHARTERS OF VIRGINIA AND THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

The charters of Virginia, and of the New England Company out of which came the charters of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, all stem from the First Charter of 1606,³ under which King James created two companies, the London Company and the Plymouth Company, to each of which he granted permission to establish colonies in America, authorizing each one to start by selecting a location one hundred miles square in which to begin operations. The sphere within which the London Company was to find its location extended from the 34th degree of latitude to the 41st; while the sphere in which the Plymouth Company should start ran from the 38th to the 45th degree.⁴ Out of this earliest charter came more definite charters after settlement had begun. Virginia's charter, granted in 1609, conveyed to that colony a tract of land centering at Point Comfort in the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, extending four hundred miles along the seacoast and into the land "from sea to sea."⁵ The Plymouth Company was reorganized in 1620 as the New England Company, with territory granted to it extending from the 40th to the 48th parallel of latitude, and, like Virginia, "from sea to sea."⁶

Although there were striking differences in the organization of these two companies, the Virginia charter having the names listed of several hundred stockholders with provisions for the addition of many more, while the New England Company was limited to a self-perpetuating group of "fourty and no more," the general powers to establish, develop, govern, and protect colonies were along very similar lines. Perhaps the most pregnant similarity in the charters of these two companies, as compared with the charters of later established colonies, was that the land granted to these two first companies was in-

³Poore, II: 1888; Hening, *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, I: 57.

⁴Poore, II: 1888.

⁵Poore, II: 1893, 1897; Hening's *Statutes*, I: 80, 86.

⁶Poore, I: 921, 922.

tended to be transferred by the company to the adventurers and planters in proportion to the share of each either in money or personal hazard of voyage and settlement that each one had taken.⁷ Land was not to be sold, nor annual tax imposed thereon, for the benefit of the company itself. The company acted, as it were, as an agent of the king to convey land according to definitely fixed rules to settlers and those who expended money in sending settlers and supplies. Land so conveyed was granted to the individual by the king "as of his manor of East Greenwich, in free and common soccage but not in capite or knightly service."⁸ Which meant that the land, held to be part of the king's own personal manor of East Greenwich, was conveyed as to a free man with no menial or military or any other personal service connected therewith, and no recurring charge at all except a small annual quit-rent tax, which in Virginia was always two shillings per hundred acres.

This fact is noteworthy because in the charters of the next group of colonies the land was granted "in free and common soccage but not in capite or knightly service" to the proprietor; and he, in conveying tracts of land to individual settlers had the right to sell at such terms and on such conditions of service, and collect as large an annual quit-rent upon occupied land, as either his personal financial needs demanded or he thought the traffic would bear.⁹

Along with the freedom acknowledged in the individual's ownership of his land there was given the assurance in both the Virginia and the New England charters that the settlers and inhabitants of each colony, being subjects of the king, and their children born or to be born in the colony "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our other dominions to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born in England."¹⁰ No such words appear in the charters either of Maryland or of Carolina; the phrase in those charters being that the settlers "shall be denizens and lieges of us, our heirs and successors in this our kingdom of England, and be in all things held, treated and reputed as the liege faithful people of us, our heirs and successors."¹¹ It would seem that upon these things was based the freedom and independence with which the people both in Virginia and New England developed their own civil government and legislative assemblies.

⁷Poore, I: 927; II: 1898.

⁸Poore, I: 926; II: 1898.

⁹Poore, II: 1383 and 1387 for North Carolina. The provisions in the charter of Maryland are similar.

¹⁰Poore. Charter of 1606, I: 1891-2; charter of Virginia Company, 1609, II: 1901; charter of New England Company, I: 930.

¹¹Poore, II: 1385. So also in the charter of Maryland.

It is also exceedingly worthy of note that whereas in the charters of Maryland and Carolina all churches that were built were ordered to be "dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England,"¹² there is no such provision in the charters either of Virginia or New England. In each of these charters the necessity is recognized for the people of the colony "to live together in the Fear and true Worship of Almighty God, Christian peace and civil quietness, each with the other"; there is, however, no provision anywhere in either charter requiring and compelling the settlers to conform or to adhere strictly to the Church of England. The term Church of England is not mentioned. Indeed the only direct reference to forms of religion is the provision forbidding members of the Roman Catholic Church to enter either colony. The wording in each charter is exactly the same:

"And lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire or expect of this action is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those parts to the true worship of God, and Christian Religion, in which respect we should be loath that any Person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to affect the superstitions of the Church of Rome, we do hereby Declare that it is our will and Pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage from time to time to be made into the said country but such as first shall have taken the Oath of Supremacy"¹³

Under the broad freedoms granted in their charters, and the lack of restrictions written therein, the people of each colony in Virginia and New England took into their own hands to develop their legislative governments and ecclesiastical organization: Virginia establishing her parishes of the Anglican communion and formally adopting the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall" of 1603 of the Church of England as far as they could be put into effect without a bishop or diocesan organization,¹⁴ and Massachusetts and the other New England colonies developing their Congregational or Independent forms, each according to the genius of its own ideals.

New England was happy in being able to establish ecclesiastical organizations complete and self-perpetuating without outside aid; but in Virginia, as the people sought to establish the form of church government in which they believed and which they desired to maintain, they

¹²Poore, II: 1383 for Carolina; for charter of Maryland, see Bozman, II: 12.

¹³Poore, I: 930; II: 1902.

¹⁴Hening's *Statutes*, I: 180. "It is ordered that there be a uniformitie throughout this colony both in substance and circumstances to the cannons and constitutions of the church of England as neere as may bee."

found themselves estopped and prevented from full accomplishment of their purpose by the refusal of their Church at home to give to the colony the bishop and the diocesan organization which they all believed to be essential, the one to the existence, the other to the welfare of their Church. For that reason they were forced to develop in the Church in Virginia distinctive institutions in the form of the parish as the only ecclesiastical jurisdiction which could exist without a bishop, and in a committee of laymen in each parish, given the name "vestry," to handle, with the incumbent minister as the presiding officer, the temporal affairs of the Church.

The only ecclesiastical authority in Virginia above the vestry of the parish was the General Assembly, or legislature of the colony. The assembly exercised the right to establish new parishes, define their bounds, fix the salary of the minister of the parish, and hear and decide appeals from unjust or arbitrary action coming to their body from a vestry, a group of parishioners, or the incumbent minister; and from time to time to enact laws of ecclesiastical import which in the lack of any other became the "diocesan canons" of the Church in Virginia.¹⁵ To the governor of the colony was given certain duties usually performed by the bishop of a diocese in England; to-wit, the granting of probate of wills and issuing licenses for marriage when performed without announcement of banns, and also the induction of ministers when presented to him by vestries for that purpose.

II. THE PALATINATE PROVINCES

King Charles I, who came to the throne upon the death of King James in 1625, adopted a form for granting land or establishing colonies in America that was fundamentally different from the plan followed by his father.

Under the charters granted by King James the colony of Virginia as the one first established, had gone ahead steadily along the line of self-government to the establishment in 1619 of its own colonial legislature: to such an extent indeed of self-government that King James had become deeply suspicious and distrustful of the plans and aims of the leaders of the London Company. Eventually, just a few months before his death, he had secured by legal action the voiding of the charter, and had taken the colony directly under his own control. This action, however, as it turned out, had proved to be too late,

¹⁵See Hening's *Statutes, passim*, for these laws concerning the affairs of the Church. They include the duties of ministers, of church-wardens and vestrymen, the use of the Prayer Book, and holy days to be observed by the Church in Virginia; and all other matters affecting the Church.

and utterly ineffective in enabling the crown to take away the self-government and independence of action that had gone into effect. The colony of Massachusetts, organized under the charter of the New England Company granted in 1620, having practically the same provisions as the Virginia charter, was developing during the later years of the reign of King James into the same liberty of self-government. The very fact of the great changes made in the form of charters granted by King Charles would seem to show clearly the dissatisfaction of the crown with the course of development of the colonies established under the earlier charters; and to reveal the determination to establish a form of province in which the rights and privileges of government and administration would be vested directly in an individual or a small group of persons, and not granted or permitted to the people of the province at large. Even the use of the term "province" instead of the word "colony" used in the earlier charters has a definite meaning.

The plan formulated by King Charles and his advisers was to establish in America colonies upon the plan of the county-palatines that were then in existence in England. There were at that time three notable counties-palatine, each one situated adjacent to hostile territory or to people inimical to England's government. There were the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire adjacent to the Welsh border, and Durham bordering on Northumberland. In the county-palatine the earl or count-palatine exercised semi-regal power, and authority far greater than was granted to other counties. "The court-palatine created his own courts of law and appointed the judges and court officers and established rules of procedure. He could pardon treasons, murders and felonies;—all writs and judicial processes were issued in his name, and the king's writ was of no avail within the bounds of his palatinate." There were also certain other regal or semi-regal rights and powers of various kinds.¹⁶

By the time of the Stuart kings the office of count-palatine of both Lancaster and Chester had passed by inheritance to the crown, and was vested in the sovereign. Durham was the only palatinate held by a subject, and strangely enough, by an ecclesiastic. By a grant of King William the Conqueror the bishop of Durham had been made *ex-officio* count-palatine of Durham, and the successive bishops held that office until 1836.

The king turned to Durham as a precedent, and had a form of

¹⁶For a study of this subject see the *Encyclopedia Britannica* or any other English encyclopedia, under the headings "County-palatine" or the "County of Durham". The quotation given in the text at this point is from Chambers' *Encyclopedia*.

charter prepared which placed in the hands of one man, or one small group of men, all the rights, powers and "regalities" of a count-palatine. In each one, in addition to describing the different classes of power and authority granted, the charter contained the following or essentially similar words:

"With all and singular, such, and as ample, rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, immunities and royal rights and temporal franchises whatsoever,—within the region—aforsaid, to be had exercised used and enjoyed as any Bishop of Durham, within the bishoprick or county-palatine of Durham, in our Kingdom of England ever heretofore hath had, held used or enjoyed, or of right could or ought to have held, use or enjoy."¹⁷

There were five palatinate charters granted by the two Kings Charles, only two of which went into active and full effect in the establishment of colonies. These two were the province of Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632, and the province of Carolina (under which both North Carolina and South Carolina were formed), granted to a group of eight proprietors by King Charles II in 1663.¹⁸

The other three were the abortive grant of the province of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1639,¹⁹ which later was conveyed to the colony of Massachusetts²⁰ and two grants by which that "sacred Majesty," Charles II, attempted to divide the whole of the colony of Virginia between two sets of court favorites; but which the people of Virginia fought so bitterly that the king was forced to buy back the larger grant of Virginia south of the Rappahannock, and to withdraw all the "regalities" and other extra-ordinary powers from the grant conveying the "Northern Neck" to the Culpeper-Fairfax Proprietors.²¹

Leaving, therefore, out of consideration the charters which did not result in the formation of separate colonies, attention may be confined to the charters of Maryland and Carolina to compare the rights and powers of an ecclesiastical nature granted to the proprietors with the exercise of the same rights and privileges in colonies formed under

¹⁷This extract is from the charter of Maryland, granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632. See Bozman, *History of Maryland*, II: 10, or Poore, I: 812.

¹⁸Poore, II: 1382-90.

¹⁹Poore, I: 774-83.

²⁰Poore, I: 774, footnote.

²¹See Henning's *Statutes*, II: 518-42. Also, McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659-93*, preface; Matthew Page Andrews, *Virginia the Old Dominion*, pp. 39-40, for account of these charters. The charter giving away the Northern Neck has been published in the English publication, *Calendar of States Papers Colonial Virginia and the West Indies, 1669-74*, pp. 22, et seq.

the earlier charters. The wording in the two charters is almost exactly the same.²²

"We do grant and likewise confirm unto the said Baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns,—the patronage and advowsons of all Churches which, (with increasing worship and religion of Christ) within the said region,—and limits aforesaid, hereafter shall happen to be built, together with license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels and places of worship in convenient and suitable places within the premises, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England."

Anyone who has knowledge of the development of self-government shown in the early history of the people of both Virginia and the New England colonies under their charters, will perceive at once the great differences of both civil and ecclesiastical freedom between the two earlier and the later or palatinate colonies.

In Virginia, for example, the people through their elected representatives in the General Assembly created their own counties and parishes, established their own courts, placed in the power of the vestry of each parish the right to select and appoint their own minister. The assembly fixed the amount of salary which must be paid to the incumbent minister of every parish, but left to the vestry of each parish the right and duty of assessing upon their own parishioners the amount of taxes for the support of the Church and care of the poor. In Maryland, and in both colonies of the province of Carolina, the proprietors exercised all these rights and powers, and the people of the colony, until they rebelled,—as they eventually did in each case,—had no say whatever as to any of them. Until the Revolution itself, however, the proprietors of these colonies, respectively, acting through the governors, exercised the right to appoint the ministers of the Anglican parishes; or else voluntarily released it.

III. THE MODIFIED PALATINATE COLONIES

The territory of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, while theoretically, as being north of the fortieth degree of latitude, belonging to the New England Company of 1620, had actually been occupied by the Swedes and the Dutch until it was taken possession of by England in 1664, during the war of that period between England and The

²²For the charter of Maryland see Bozman, II: 10, for that of Carolina, see Poore, II: 1383.

Netherlands. The Dutch had organized all the territory from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River as the colony of New Amsterdam. All of this territory, with the territory of Maine thrown in for good measure, was granted by the king to his brother James, the duke of York in that same year, and immediately the duke of York granted the territory which later became the colony of New Jersey to the two proprietors, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.²³ Although the territory on the west side of the Delaware River comprising the present state of Delaware does not seem to be included in the grant made to the duke of York, it was claimed by him and later sold by him to William Penn.²⁴ The three colonies, therefore, of New York, New Jersey and Delaware were formed out of the land granted by the king to the duke of York; New York remaining under the proprietorship of James, New Jersey under Berkeley and Carteret, and Delaware under William Penn.

In the powers which, with one exception, were granted by Charles II to the duke of York under the charter of 1664, that province was intended clearly to be of a modified palatinate type, although the term "province" was not used, and there is no mention of the bishop of Durham and the term county-palatine. This exception in the rights granted to him was the religious and ecclesiastical powers and privileges which in the earlier palatine provinces were given to the proprietor. The duke of York was not given either the right to establish parishes and erect and endow churches, or the right of advowson of the churches which were already in existence or might later be formed. Doubtless the reason for this exception was that, inasmuch as the Dutch Reformed and Swedish Lutheran Churches were already well and strongly established in New Amsterdam, the English commander, in the terms of surrender whereby the colony was yielded to the English, had promised that the inhabitants of the territory should have and retain the right of freedom of conscience in matters of religion.²⁵ Another reason, perhaps, was that James was an avowed member of the Roman Catholic Church, and with the royal family so recently restored to the throne of England it would not have been very wise to have it known that the advowsons of churches and other ecclesiastical rights and powers in so large a stretch of territory had been given to a Roman Catholic. Be that as it may, however, the people of the province of New York under the first charter had free exercise of religious and ecclesiastical matters because the king did not grant any such rights to the proprietor.

²³Poore, I: 783-85; II: 1310, and footnote.

²⁴Poore, I: 270 and footnote.

²⁵Manross, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 34.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the duke of York as proprietor could not convey to the proprietors, to whom he sold New Jersey, rights or privileges which had not been granted to him by the king, the people of Jersey had the same rights of religious and ecclesiastical self-determination and self-government as the people of New York. This was true also later on, of the colony of Delaware for the reason that its origin as a British colony dated back to the grant made to the duke of York and not to the charter of Pennsylvania granted to William Penn.

In actual fact, however, the Anglican Church was not introduced into New Jersey or into Delaware in any well-organized fashion until after the beginning of the eighteenth century; and the Anglican Church in New York consisted merely of a chaplaincy at New York until nearly the end of the seventeenth century. These colonies, therefore, do not come into a study of the conditions of the Church during the earlier formative years of the seventeenth century.

As regards the colony of Pennsylvania a very interesting and unique provision appears in its charter, granted by Charles II to William Penn in the year 1681. It also is of the modified palatinate type, although it describes and defines the powers given to William Penn much more clearly and seemingly in much greater degree than were granted to the duke of York. In this charter also the reference to the bishop of Durham and the county-palatine of Durham is lacking, but the powers of a palatinate are specifically mentioned. There is, however, no mention whatsoever of any religious or ecclesiastical rights or powers granted to the proprietor. From that standpoint the people of Pennsylvania were as free, and had as full right of self-determination and self-government in religious affairs as the people of New York or of the earlier colonies formed under the charters of Virginia and New England.²⁶

The one striking fact about the charter of Pennsylvania is that a specific provision is included which created a definite right or privilege of the Anglican Church, and one that does not appear in the charter of any other colony. This paragraph of the charter, inserted at the express instigation of Henry Compton, bishop of London, is as follows:

"If any of the inhabitants of the said Province to the number of twenty shall at any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any writing, or by any person deputed by them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of London, that any preacher or preachers to be approved by the said Bishop may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such preacher

²⁶For the charter of the Province of Pennsylvania see Poore, II: 1509.

or preachers shall and may be and reside within the said Province without any deniall or molestation whasoever."²⁷

This provision gave to the bishop of London an authority in the colony of Pennsylvania which he did not have in any other colony in America: the authority to select and appoint a minister to the charge of a definite congregation.

It had been indeed only a few years before the granting of this charter to William Penn, that any authority at all had been given to the bishop of London as regarded the Church in the colonies. In 1677 Bishop Henry Compton, as the result of a strong report he had made to the Lord of Trade and the Plantations, concerning conditions in the colonies, was given authority to select and approve ministers who in his judgment were qualified to hold parishes in the colonies. Beginning about 1680, and continuing regularly thereafter, instructions were sent to the governors of the several colonies by the Privy Council as representing the king, "That no minister be preferred by you to any ecclesiastical Benefice in our colony without a certificate from the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the Doctrine of the Church of England."²⁸

In conformity with this continuing instruction it became customary for the bishop of London to issue to every minister whom he approved for service in America a license addressed to the governor of the colony in which the minister desired to secure a parish; and, as time passed and the great value of this aid in securing properly equipped ministers was recognized, it became increasingly difficult for any minister who came to America to secure appointment to a parish unless he had the license of the bishop of London.

But the authority to appoint a minister to the charge of a particular congregation was a very different kind of power and placed in the hands of the bishop of London, as far as Anglican parishes in Pennsylvania were concerned, gave him the same right of appointment as the proprietors of the earlier palatinate provinces held in their respective provinces. While the term "advowson," which was used in the other charters was not used in declaring the right of the bishop of London to appoint a minister of his own selection to a parish in Pennsylvania, it would seem clear that the power of advowson was the power given him.

²⁷Poore, II: 1515.

²⁸This particular instruction was given to Thomas, Lord Culpeper, governor of Virginia. For a statement of the whole subject of the authority of the bishop of London to license clergymen to serve in the American colonies, see A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*.

It is of profound interest to note that just as one bishop of London sought to protect the interests of the Church, in a newly created province, established avowedly for the Quakers, by the insertion of this item in its charter, another bishop over fifty years later perceived that the growing strength of the Church in that colony demanded his renunciation of such over-seas control. In a discussion of the matter in Charles P. Keith's "Chronicles of Pennsylvania," the author writes:

"As to the meaning of the clause in the Charter in regard to the selection of the minister, the learned canonist Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London from 1723 to 1748, wrote in 1738, that he did not pretend to any more right than that of licensing the person who was to be their minister, intimating that he was to be nominated by the inhabitants either as individuals, or representing as vestrymen the individuals; and we find in most cases when the Bishop of London picked out the person to be licensed, that he had been requested to do so, it being generally hard for the people to find a minister and when Bp. Gibson in 1742, after failure to receive a unanimous recommendation from the vestry of Christ Church, Philadelphia, of anybody to be minister there, issued a license to Rev. Robert Jenny, both the latter and the Bishop explained that it was not an appointment but a recommendation or approbation conditional upon the vestry accepting him."²⁹

IV. THE RIGHTS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

In analyzing the condition as to the rights and privileges of the Anglican Church in America during its first century, as shown by the charters of the colonies established before the beginning of the eighteenth century, the case appears to be as follows:

In Virginia and the New England colonies, under the liberty given them in their respective charters, the Anglican Church became the Established Church of Virginia, and the Puritans and Independents became so predominant in the New England colonies that during the first hundred years the Anglican Church was under a ban either of civil law or of popular fear and disapproval,³⁰ or both.

²⁹Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, two volumes, Philadelphia, 1917. Volume I: p. 329.

³⁰Although at times efforts had been made by individuals or small groups to secure the services of the Church of England, these efforts came to nought because of the determined will of the people of the colony to prevent its introduction. It was not until, acting under the same legal procedure that had been employed in 1624 to abolish the charter of the Virginia colony, the charter of Massachusetts was abolished by King Charles in 1683, that the power to prevent

In the palatinate colonies of Maryland and North and South Carolina the proprietors had the advowson of all parishes and had authority and power to organize parishes, erect and endow churches, chapels and oratories, and consecrate them according to the laws of the Anglican Church. They could also set apart lands for the use of the Church, and fix the tithes which the people must pay for the salaries of their ministers, and other Church needs. The welfare, if not indeed the whole existence of the Anglican Church in these colonies, lay in the power of one man in Maryland; of eight men in Carolina.

In the colonies of New York and New Jersey, and also later in Delaware, freedom of religious choice was within the power of the people themselves to establish their own ecclesiastical forms according to Anglican, Quaker or Puritan models. In actual fact, however, the first Anglican congregation in New Jersey (except for the attempt in Perth Amboy) was formed by a missionary of the S. P. G., and the Anglican Church was non-existent in New York, except in the form of a chaplaincy in the town of New York until almost the end of the seventeenth century.

In the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania the Anglican Church was recognized as being a permissive form of religion, if and when as many as twenty persons desiring the services of the Anglican Church should come into the colony. Under this provision of their charter, Christ Church in Philadelphia, the first Anglican congregation in the colony, was formed in the year 1695.

It must be clear from the foregoing statement of the situation of the Church in the several colonies, that the only ones in which the Anglican Church had any opportunity at all to develop and adapt itself to new and unknown conditions, and so to become "naturalized" to the nascent life of a new land, were Virginia on the one hand and Maryland and Carolina on the other. In Virginia the care and administration of the Church and responsibility for its welfare were in the hands of self-governing free men who were genuinely interested in continuing in America the ways of their homeland, and in religion were desirous of carrying on the ways of their mother-Church.

In Maryland and in Carolina, where the people lacked the free exercise of self-government claimed by the people of Virginia, and

the introduction of Anglican services was temporarily checked and such an effort succeeded. Anglican services were started and a congregation organized which, under the protection of an arbitrary governor, was permitted to hold services in Congregational churches until in desperation the Anglican congregation was permitted to purchase land and erect a church building of its own. See E. L. Pennington, *Anglican Beginnings in Massachusetts*, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. X: 277-87.

where the interest of the proprietors in the furtherance of the Church was essential to its welfare, no such interest or sympathy seemed to appear. In the province of Maryland, where the proprietor was a Roman Catholic, one might hardly expect to find any interest in establishing parishes and erecting churches which, according to his charter, had to be consecrated according to the laws of the Church of England. In Carolina, the eight proprietors, who had secured from the philosopher John Locke a form of "Fundamental Constitutions" which proposed that the Anglican Church should be established throughout the colony, seemed to think that they had done their full part, and let the matter rest until they abolished that plan as unworkable in 1693.⁸¹ In each province toleration was promised: in Maryland because Lord Baltimore desired to provide a haven for Roman Catholics; in Carolina because it was provided for in their original charter. But in each province the great and abiding financial interest of the proprietors in the sale of land to incoming settlers, and the collection of annual "quit-rents" accruing from all occupied land, would seem to have precluded any unusual interest in the Church of England for fear of keeping good hard-working dissenters away.

The establishment of Anglican congregations in these provinces, therefore, was in the hands of interested individuals or groups, as was the organization of Puritan or Quaker congregations: but the Anglican group, lacking the support either of the proprietors' interest and leadership, or of laws as enacted in Virginia for the organization of parishes and election of vestries with authority to assess and collect tithes for the erection of the church and the support of the minister, were in a leaderless and chaotic condition. And, where conditions proved more favorable and a congregation had been organized, they had to request the proprietors, as owners of the advowson, to select a minister for them, regardless of their own wishes. There was very little chance of constructive development or of growth of the Anglican Church under such conditions.

The most serious element in the situation, however, both in Virginia and in the palatinate provinces was the absolute unwillingness or inability on the part of the Church at home, and of the king as the temporal head of the Church, to permit the normal organization of the Church in the colonies by sending bishops and undertaking the normal diocesan set-up under which the Church was administered and governed in England. This fell even harder upon the scattered groups of Churchmen in the palatinate colonies than it did upon the Church

⁸¹For the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina", see Poore, II: 1397-1408. See a discussion of these "Constitutions" by the late Bishop Cheshire in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. I, pp. 204-221.

in Virginia, where at least there was sufficient general interest in the welfare of the Church to compel the General Assembly to enact canons for its government and administration; as far as this could be done by laymen.

Maryland was granted by the king to Lord Baltimore in 1632. In 1676 there were only four Anglican ministers holding livings in the colony. It was not until the last decade of that century that a sufficiently strong Anglican sentiment appeared in the colony to enact laws which established the Anglican Church, divided the colony into parishes, and fixed the tithes to be collected for the support of the Church.

In Carolina the first Anglican congregation was organized in Charleston, in the colony of South Carolina in 1682, nineteen years after the granting of the charter, and no others were organized until after 1700. The first parish in the colony of North Carolina was twenty years later—1702.

It so happened, therefore, that neither Maryland nor the Carolina colonies had any vital part in the development of the Anglican Church during the formative years between 1607 and the Revolution of 1688.

It was in the colony of Virginia alone that the Anglican Church had any real opportunity of growth. And here, in spite of the great obstacles of lack of normal organization and leadership, and the fearful handicap of being unable for so long a time to secure an adequate supply of ministers from England,³² the Church was given a form of or-

³²Historians in writing of the conditions of the Church in Virginia and Maryland during the greater part of the seventeenth century seem never to have realized that the real reason why there were only about ten ministers of Anglican ordination in the fifty parishes in Virginia between 1660 and 1670, and only four Anglican ministers in Maryland in 1676, was due to conditions in the home land which the Church in the colonies found itself utterly helpless to overcome.

The Virginia Company had exercised laudable care in selecting ministers to send to Virginia until the abolition by the king of the charter of that Company in 1624. After that there seemed to be nobody in authority in England who cared, and there was no one appointed to select ministers to send to the colonies until Bishop Compton of the diocese of London, because of his realization of the bitterness of the need, secured from the Privy Council that authority in 1677. But the real reason of the lack of thought for the Church in the colonies during that intervening time was, more than anything else, the dire catastrophe which befell the Church of England within that period, and left it powerless in the hands of its enemies. The civil wars, which began in England in 1632 between the king and the Established Church on the one side and parliament and the dissenters on the other, dragged their dreadful length until the beheading of Archbishop Laud and the forcible taking away of the Prayer Book from every parish and church in England in 1644, the beheading of the king in 1649, and the era of the Commonwealth in which rectors of parishes who had shown loyalty to the king were ejected, and ministers of Presbyterian or Baptist ordination put into their places. Because the bishop of every diocese was exiled or in hiding, there could be no ordinations of new ministers, except such as were done secretly, during the whole period of the prostration of the Church.

After the restoration of King Charles II in 1660, it was found necessary, if

ganization which proved sufficiently workable to keep it alive and functioning throughout the whole period. Indeed, through the very experience of facing and finding the way through the difficulties and obstacles, it established a plan of parochial church administration which could be adopted and adapted to the use of the Anglican Church as it was introduced into other colonies. The S. P. G. when seeking a minister to send as its first missionary to the Indians at Albany in New York in 1712, found in Rev. William Andrews a man "who possessed colonial experience" through having served parishes in Virginia for eight or ten years.³³ So, in the organization of mission congregations among the English settlers, it followed the example established in Virginia of creating a vestry to administer the temporal affairs of the parish. And the American parishes themselves as they grew in communicant strength and became self-supporting in financial matters, found in the self-governing parishes of the Church in Virginia the precedent for securing for themselves the right to select their own ministers.

the Church was to be preserved, to remove every minister of other ordination who was conscientiously unable to begin using the Prayer Book and conform to the usages of the Church. Two thousand ministers refused to conform, and were consequently forced to give up their Anglican parishes. Although doubtless the number of young men seeking ordination to the ministry of the Church of England immediately after the return of the king was greater than normal because of the repression of ordination during the Commonwealth, the need suddenly forced upon the Church of filling two thousand parishes with new ministers of Anglican ordination could not be met at once: it must have taken a good many years for the supply of young men offering for ordination to fill the pressing needs of the vacant parishes at home, and there were no ministers at all available to go to the parishes in Virginia and Maryland. So the Church in Virginia with fifty parishes crying for ordained ministers could secure none, and was compelled perforce to employ laymen as readers to keep the services going, to baptize their children and to bury their dead. Under such circumstances the occasional minister of Puritan or Presbyterian ordination who was willing to conform and use the Prayer Book was considered a God-send to the parish that could secure him. He could at least celebrate the Holy Communion for a spiritually hungry people; and the lay-reader could not do that. "Leaden lay-priests of the Vesteris Ordination" young Nicholas Moreau scornfully called these readers. But neither Moreau nor anyone else could show how ordained ministers could be secured from England when there were none there to be had. Virginia sent a commission to England to beg that a bishop might be sent to ordain such of these readers as were found fitted and desirous of receiving holy orders; but no bishop was sent.

See the pamphlet "Virginia's Cure" by R. G. in which he urged the immediate sending of a bishop to relieve the immediate situation, and further plans for Virginia fellowships at the universities in order to provide a permanent and continuing supply.

For Nicholas Moreau's statement, see his "Negroes and Indians Advocate", both republished in Peter Force's *Tracts*.

³³*Digest S. P. G. Records*, 70-71. Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, 246.

V. THE RIGHT OF APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

The story of the introduction and widespread growth of the Anglican Church in the American colonies during the eighteenth century belongs to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. All honor and gratitude to that great missionary society for the work it did in the American colonies outside of Virginia and Maryland.

When the first missionaries of the S. P. G. came to found mission stations they came obviously as missionaries and not as rectors of parishes. It was only after a mission station had become strong and financially self-supporting that the question would arise as to who had the right to appoint the minister. Unquestionably as long as the S. P. G. provided the salary, or the larger part of it, that Society had the right to appoint the missionary who should serve that field; but as soon as a congregation became self-supporting the question of the advowson became a very pertinent one.

It was indeed a more pressing problem than we can realize today, because, in the Church of England at that time, there was perhaps not a single parish that had the right to select its own minister. This right, as the result of a centuries-old custom, had passed, as a piece of chattel property from owner to owner, coming down in every case from the earliest day of the parish in which the owner of the land had erected a church and established a definite proportion of the produce of his land as "tithes" to be paid for its support. Because the building and the tithes from his own land was the donation of the owner of the land, he claimed and received the right to select the priest whom he might nominate to the bishop to be appointed the rector of the parish.

These rights to nominate, or "advowsons" of parishes, had during the passage of generations come in the great majority of cases into the possession of monasteries and convents and other Church institutions. After the destruction of the monasteries by King Henry VIII, these advowsons as having financial and other value were distributed by the king to the universities, or hospitals and other institutions, or to his friends, and many were retained by the crown.

The interests of the parish under this system were conserved to a certain extent by the fact that the owner of the advowson was required under the law to present his selectee to the bishop of the diocese in which the parish was situated, to be by him instituted as the spiritual pastor of the people, and inducted into the temporal rights and privileges of the rectorship of the parish. The bishop was expected to investigate the character and qualifications of the minister presented to

him for induction, and, if he should decline to induct because of the unfitness of the minister, the owner of the advowson must select another minister to present to the bishop. If the owner of the advowson should fail over a period of six months to present a minister to the bishop to fill a vacant parish, the bishop had the right to "collate" a minister of his own choice and institute and induct him without further reference to the advowson.

It can be easily perceived, however, that under such a system the owner of the advowson might have neither knowledge nor interest in the spiritual welfare and needs of the people of the parish, and so might appoint a minister totally unfitted by temperament or training to serve acceptably the people of the cure. The parish had absolutely no say at all in the matter.

The question, therefore, that faced every S. P. G. mission in America which grew into a self-supporting congregation, would be whether they should follow the custom of the Church at home, and either permit the S. P. G. as a founding mother to retain the advowson and continue to appoint their rectors, or take the stand that the king as the original owner of the land "as of his manor of East Greenwich," or the individual or group to whom he had granted it, "or their heirs and assigns," had the right of advowson, and so could appoint their rector, with no voice on their part in saying who their rector should be. The will to self-determination and self-government, which was becoming increasingly strong in all parts of America by the year 1700, would insist that a parish or congregation of whatever faith and church order it might be, had the right to handle its own temporal affairs and select its own pastor. And at the same time, as loyal adherents of the mother-Church of their land and people, such a deviation from the ways of the homeland as the putting into the hands of the parishioners themselves the right to select their own minister, would seem to require the approval of some legal authority at home if it were to be done without giving the impression that they were departing from the old ways of their Church.

It was fortunate for these early missions of the S. P. G. that in the one colony in America in which the Anglican Church was at the same time strongest in membership and among the freest in self-government, this very question, along with many others affecting the Church's existence and growth, had already been thrashed out, and a method of procedure definitely fixed, as being the best that could be done under the restrictions and limitations placed upon the Church in the colonies. The advowson of every parish was declared to belong to the parish itself, to be exercised by the vestry as its representative and agent.

The steps by which the right of advowson came into the possession of the vestry can easily be traced, and are of much interest.

A. When the colony was first settled it was definitely understood by virtue of all precedent of the past in England, (but certainly not mentioned in the charter of the company), that the London Company, as the owner of the land upon which settlement was to be made, had the right and the duty to erect a church, appoint a minister, and fix his salary. This was shown by the fact that before the first expedition of the three little ships started on their voyage, the Rev. Dr. Richard Hakluyt had been appointed to the "living" at Jamestown at a salary of £500, and he had appointed the Rev. Robert Hunt, Vicar of Reculver, his vicar to go with the new settlers to the first parish in the new land.³⁴

B. The London Company established four settlements in Virginia,³⁵ made each one of them a parish, erected a church in each, fixed the salary of each at £200 per annum, and appointed the ministers to serve in each one until King James secured the revocation of the charter of the company in 1624.³⁶

C. The London Company granted to certain groups of stockholders as much land as their stock was entitled to, upon the understanding that each group would send over settlers to form a new settlement or town. Each new settlement so formed was declared to be a parish, and the group of stockholders who established such a settlement was expected to erect the church and was given the right to select the minister.³⁷ The settlements developed by these groups of stockholders were

³⁴Captain John Smith's *Works*, English Students Edition, Vol. II, p. 958; Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church*, 1: 168-69.

³⁵Jamestown, City of Henricus, Charles City and Kickotan. They consisted in each case of a town and the suburban territory immediately surrounding it. See the article "The Church in Colonial Virginia" in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, X: 85, and footnote.

³⁶*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, X: 85. Kingsbury, *Records of the London Company*, III: 106 *et passim*.

³⁷Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, III: 275-80. In a "Broadside" of Instructions from the Treasurer and Council and Company for Virginia to the Governor of Virginia and the Council of Estate there residing, dated May 17, 1620, the following statement occurs:

"We do hereby ordain and require that in every Borough there be provided and placed at least one godly and learned Minister to be chosen in each Particular Plantation by the several Adventurers and Planters; and for the four Ancient Boroughs to be provided and nominated by us and our successors; as also for the Company's Land, wheresoever; leaving always to the Governor to provide a Minister for his tenants, and to the College for theirs."

An earlier public advertisement of the Company defined the difference between Adventurers and Planters as follows:

"Wee call those Planters that goe in their persons to dwell there: And those Adventurers that adventure their money and goe not in person, and both doe make the members of one Colonie. We do account twelve pound ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will goe and

called "particular plantations" or "hundreds" while those established by the Company itself were called "cities"; but the rights, privileges and powers of "city" and "hundred" were exactly the same. When, in July and August, 1619, the first meeting of the legislative assembly of the colony was held there were four "cities" and seven "hundreds," each one of which was a legislative borough, and each sent two burgesses to make up the twenty-two elected representatives who sat in that momentous assembly.

D. After the London Company lost its charter and the king placed the colony under his own direct control, the Council of State of Virginia, as the upper house of their general assembly, assumed the right to create new parishes called for by the growth of population, and to appoint the ministers of these new parishes, and also of the older parishes formed under the Company as they fell vacant.³⁸ This action was a clear indication that the people of the colony believed that they in their corporate capacity as the owners of all the occupied land, had the right to make their own parishes and select their own ministers. And this action was upheld by general consent and later by law. Certainly the king never disallowed that action on the part of the council of state of Virginia although, as has been shown, when he established the province of Maryland seven or eight years later he very pointedly gave to the proprietor of the province the right to establish all parishes and appoint the ministers.

E. And just as soon as the General Assembly of Virginia was called to meet by King Charles I, after the death of King James, the assembly itself took definite action which continued in force throughout the whole colonial period, that the House of Burgesses as representing the people more directly than did the Council of State, should act in the matter of establishing new parishes; and that the vestry of each parish, as a committee of the landowners of the parish and elected by the landowners, should exercise for them all their joint right of calling their ministers.

dwelt there, and every childe about tenne yeares, that shall be carried thither to remaine, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had adventured twelve pound ten shillings in money." (See Matthew Page Andrews, *The Soul of a Nation*, p. 124.)

This advertisement was printed and published in 1609. It is interesting to note the development that had occurred by 1620. After the colony had been divided into boroughs with the right to elect their own representatives the settlers in the borough as stockholders were now being joined with the adventurers living in England in the selection of their ministers. This was in effect a definite step in the transfer of the right to select their minister from stockholders of the Company living in England to citizens resident in the parish in Virginia.

³⁸HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, X: 86. Minutes of the General Court of Virginia under date of October 10, 1624, p. 22.

In other words, the right exercised by the London Company without question as the owner of the land in a parish to appoint its minister was, when ownership of the land had been transferred to a large number of individuals owning larger or smaller tracts within the parish, transferred to the joint ownership of all the landowners, and was exercised by a committee of their number elected by the majority of that group. This principle was declared in the first Vestry Acts whereby the vestry, in its American form, was written into the statute law of the colony; and the vestries never throughout the whole colonial period gave up that right.

The first Vestry Act to be adopted by the General Assembly of Virginia was enacted in 1635 or earlier. The act itself has been lost but its existence is shown by references to its provisions appearing in county court records as early as that year. The first Vestry Act whose text has come down to us appears in the code of laws as revised by the General Assembly in March, 1641/42.³⁹

This law directed that:

"the vestrie of evrie parish, with the allowance of the Commander and Commissioners of the County living and residing within the said Parish, or the vestrie alone in case of their non-residence, shall from henceforward have power to elect and make choyce of their ministers. And he or they so elected by the Commander and Commissioners, or by the vestrie in case of non-residence as aforesaid, to be recommended and presented—to the governour and so by him admitted."

The laws of the colony were again revised by the General Assembly in March, 1661/1662, as soon as possible after the restoration of King Charles. In this revisal the Vestry Act directed that the vestry should consist of twelve laymen, with the minister of the parish, whenever there was a minister, as the presiding officer, and defined its duties to be:

"for the making and proportioning the levies and provision for the poore, maintenance of the minister, and such other necessary duties for the more orderly managing all the parochiall affaires."⁴⁰

Another law enacted at this same session entitled "*Ministers to bee inducted*" directed:

"that for the preservation of the purity and unity of doctrine and discipline in the Church and the right administration

³⁹Hening's *Statutes*, I: 240-42.

⁴⁰*Ibid.* II: 44-45.

of the Sacrament, noe minister be admitted to officiate in this country but such as shall produce to the governour a testimonial that he hath received his ordination from some Bishopp in England; and shall then subscribe to be conformable to the Orders and Constitutions of the Church of England, and the laws there established; upon which the governor is hereby requested to induct the said minister into any parish that shall make presentation of him."⁴¹

This law remained in force through the remainder of the colonial period, with its definite provision that the governor of the colony was "requested" (i. e., authorized) to induct a minister of satisfactory credentials "into any parish that shall make presentation of him." Thus it was written into the law of the colony that the parish, (acting through its vestry), held the "advowson," or right of selection of the minister who was to serve as incumbent or rector of their own parish.

As has already been shown, this law could not be enforced fully during the years in which it was impossible to secure ministers "ordained by a Bishopp in England," because there were none to be had. But by the year 1680 the supply of ministers in England was getting back nearer to normal, and conditions began to improve greatly in the colony. By the year 1700, thanks to the efforts of the bishop of London, and his willingness to assume the duty of selecting ministers to send to America, and his appointment of Rev. James Blair as his commissary in Virginia, a steady growth and development was taking place in the Church in that colony.

Commissary Blair, in seeking to strengthen the position of the clergy, felt that the time had come when he could insist that clergymen be inducted into the rectorship of their parishes instead of continuing the old custom of being appointed from year to year by vestries. The law of the colony, as he perceived, was definite in its provision that the parish should select its own minister, but as regarding induction into the rectorship had simply authorized the governor to induct in case the parish presented their minister to him for induction.

The vestries of Virginia had steadily refused to present their ministers for induction because of the obvious unwisdom of giving to a minister whom they hardly knew a life-tenure upon the temporalities of their parish in both possession of glebe and Church building, and also the salary paid by the parish. With a bishop three thousand miles away, and the civil courts not having authority to depose a minister, it was felt to be too risky to give him a life tenure upon the parish lest they should find later perchance that he was proving unworthy of his high calling, and was bringing disgrace upon the Church.

⁴¹*Ibid.* II: 46.

Realizing, as he must have done, the danger from this source, Commissary Blair, nevertheless, evidently believed that Church conditions were becoming so much more stable under the interest shown by the bishop of London that it would be safe to insist upon induction into the rectorship as the general custom. So he urged Governor Nicholson to carry out the rule in force in the Church of England, and insist upon his right as the "ordinary" of the colony to select a minister of his own choosing and "collate him" or induct him by his own authority into the rectorship of any parish which had failed to carry out the law of the Church by neglecting to present a minister of their own selection within a definite period.⁴²

Colonel Nicholson, devoted Churchman that he was, and founder and benefactor of parishes in other colonies, very manifestly thought it would be unwise for him to undertake an effort that would be so universally unpopular throughout Virginia unless he had clearer and more definite authorization than either the law of the colony or his own instructions from the king gave him. So the matter was referred to legal authority at home and an opinion was secured from the attorney general of England.

This opinion, when received in Virginia, was presented to the governor and council of state, and by that body ordered to be recorded, and a copy sent to the church wardens of every parish with the instruction that it be read at a meeting of the parish vestry and copied into their minute book. This order, and the opinion of the attorney general, are as follows:⁴³

"ATT a Councill held at Williamsburgh the 3^d Day of March, 1703: Upon reading at this Board Sir Edward Northey Kn^t her Ma^{ty}s Attorney Gen^l his Opinion upon the Act of Assembly of this Colony relating to the Church and particularly Concerning Induction of Minist^{rs}.

"His Excellency in Council is pleased to order that a Copy of the said S^r EDW. Northey his Opinion be sent to the Churchwardens of each parish within this Colony, Requiring them upon receipt thereof forthwith to Call a Vestry and thereto Cause the same to be read and Entered in the vestry books to the intent the said vestry may offer to his Excell^{cy} what they think proper there upon.

Fr. Nicholson.

Will. Robertson, Cll Con."

⁴²William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Episcopal Church*, the Virginia Volume, pp. 320-21.

⁴³Perry, *Op. cit.* 127-28. See also the published *Vestry Book of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia*, edited by C. G. Chamberlayne, pp. 98-99. Also, McIlwaine, *Executive Journals, Council of Colonial Virginia*, 11: 359, under date off March 3, 1703/04.

SIR EDWARD NORTHEY, Attorney General of England
HIS OPINION CONCERNING THE INDUCTION
OF MINISTERS.

"ON consideration of the Laws of Virginia, provision being made by the Act Entituled 'Church to be Built or Chappell of Ease,' for the building of a Church in each parish; and by the Act entituled "Ministers to be Inducted," that ministers of each Parish shall be inducted on the presentation of the Parishioners; and the Churchwardens being by the Act entituled "Churchwardens to Keep the Church in Repare and Provide Ornaments," to Collect ye Ministers Dues; and by the Act 'For the Better Support and Maintenance of the Clergy,' provision being made for the ministers of the Parishes; and by the said Act for Inducting Ministers the Governour being to Induct the Ministers to be presented; and thereby he being constituted ordinary, and as Bishop of the Plantation, and with a Power to punish ministers preaching contrary to that Law:

"I am of Opinion the Advowson and right of presentation to the Churches is subject to the Laws of England, (there being no express Law of that Plantation made further concerning the same).

"Therefore, when the Parishioners present their Clerk, and he is inducted by the Governour, (who is to and must induct on the presentation of the parishioners), the Incumbent is in for his life and cannot be displaced by the parishioners.

"If the Parishioners do not present a minister to the Governour within six months after any Church shall be void, the Governour as ordinary shall and may collate a Clerk to such Church by lapse, and his collatee shall hold the Church for his life. If the Parishioners have never Presented, they have a reasonable time to present a Minister, but if they will not present, being required so to doe the Governour may also in their default collate a minister.

"In inducting ministers by the Governour on the presentation of the parishes, or on his own Collation, he is to see the Minister be qualified according as that act for inducting ministers requires.

"In case of the avoydance of any Church the Governour, as ordinary of the Plantation, is, according to ye statute of 28 H 8 Cap. 11th Sect 5th, to appoint a Minister to officiate till the Parish shall present one or the six months be lapsed, and such person appointed to officiate in the vacancy is to be paid for this service out of the Profitts thereof from the time the Church becomes voyd.

"By the Law above stated in this Case, no minister is to officiate as such till he hath shewed to the Governour he is Qualified according as the said act for induction Derects.

If the vestry do not levy the Tobacco for the minister the Courts there must decree the same to be levied.

EDW^d NORTHEY July 29th, 1703

While the purpose of this opinion of the attorney general was to assure the governor of Virginia not only of his authority, but also of his duty, to take action and to collate a minister of his own selection to every parish in which the vestry had failed for six months to present a minister selected by the parish itself, its importance in connection with the question of the advowson is his complete and entire acceptance of the right of the parish in Virginia under the laws of the Church of England to hold the advowson of their own parish and present a minister of their own selection.

The acceptance of this right by so high a legal authority in England must have settled the question in other colonies also outside of Maryland, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. It would seem that the S. P. G. became aware of his opinion: if in no other way they must have learned it from Col. Francis Nicholson himself, who was a deeply interested member of the S. P. G. Recognizing its importance in the work of that Society it would have been exceedingly strange if he had not reported it to that body.

As far as the enforcement in Virginia of the law requiring induction of ministers was concerned it need only be said that the opinion of Sir Edward Northey, when sent to the vestries was answered by a storm of refusal in the shape of letters from almost every vestry in the colony. Only two or three vestries complied and presented their ministers for induction; the rest said NO! in many emphatic ways.⁴⁴ But that is another matter, and does not come within the purview of this study of the advowson. That had been won for the parishes in Virginia and indeed for the whole American Church.⁴⁵

⁴⁴The letters from almost all of the vestries in Virginia, replying at the request of the governor, and expressing their objections to induction of their ministers, are preserved in the Public Record Office, in London, C. O. 5, Vol. 1314, Part 2, 63, (xvii). They are copied in Sainsbury's *Transcripts*, Library of Congress, pp. 1017-1083.

⁴⁵Sixteen years later a bitter dispute arose between Col. Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Virginia, and the vestries of the parishes upon the subject of collation, the governor claiming the right under the instructions given him by the king to appoint ministers to the rectorship of parishes regardless of the desires either of the parishioners or the vestries. In this contest Commissary Blair stood solidly with the vestries in defending their right to select the ministers for their own parishes. The contest was carried on with great bitterness on both sides and was finally appealed to the Privy Council in England. The recall of Gov. Spotswood, however, before the case was brought to trial threw it out of court, and the question was never again raised by a later governor. For the story of this contest see Perry's *Virginia Volume*, under the index classification of "induction of ministers". Also the *Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, being Volumes I and II of Virginia Historical Collections.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND REFORM*

By William Wilson Manross†

REFORM" is a word of many meanings, and its use here requires definition. This article will not be concerned with efforts for the reformation of individuals or with attempts at collective reformation in the phases of human life which are usually considered specifically religious. The "reform" in which we are interested is that series of efforts for the betterment of men's social life in this world which arose during the nineteenth century through the interaction of Christianity and the democratic ideal. In discussing the relation of the Episcopal Church to these movements, we shall consider not only its corporate attitude toward them, but also the attitude of its individual members, insofar as that can be determined.

I. EARLY REFORM MOVEMENTS

This reform impulse first expressed itself in a number of loosely related efforts to bring the handling of certain specific social problems into harmony with the general trend toward perfection which was expected to follow the acceptance of political democracy. The cruel and careless methods of handling criminals must be changed. The insane must be given more kind and rational treatment. The means of popular education must be improved. Free hospitals and dispensaries must be established to provide medical aid for those who were unable to pay for it. Care and training must be given to the permanently handicapped.

In some respects this was simply a revival of traditional Christian benevolence, following naturally on the contemporary revival of religion, and strengthened by the transition from private to institutional charity which resulted from the growth of larger cities, but there was about the movement an expectation of the correction, not merely the alleviation, of evils, which was probably the product of democratic idealism.

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The new systems of prison discipline sought not only to punish the criminal more humanely than before, but to reform him.¹ The new institutions for the care of the insane sought the cure, not just the restraint of their patients.² In the treatment of the deaf and the blind the reformers tried to train the handicapped to make the senses they had do duty for the ones they lacked, so that they could lead an approximately normal life.³

The first two centers of this wave of beneficence were Boston and Philadelphia. In Boston its leadership was derived mainly from the successors of the Puritans: the Congregationalists and Unitarians. In Philadelphia the Quakers were active in the work, but other groups were also well represented. The patriarch of all civic leaders in Philadelphia, and, indeed, in the nation, was Benjamin Franklin, who, though a deist in his religious philosophy, maintained a loose connection with the Episcopal Church.⁴

In the next generation, the most energetic promoter of reform in the "Quaker City" was Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was first a Presbyterian and later a Universalist.⁵ The official and active leader of many of the reform organizations was Bishop William White, who, in the course of his long career, served as first president of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, the Magdalen Society, the Philadelphia Dispensary, the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Provident Society.⁶

The first of the above-named organizations, commonly called the Prison Society, besides being one of the earliest penal reform bodies in America, was the founder of a pioneer juvenile reformatory.⁷ The Magdalen Society, later renamed the White-Williams Society, had as its object the reclaiming of prostitutes. The Philadelphia Dispensary was one of the first institutions to supply medical aid to the poor in their homes. The Provident Society furnished work-relief to poor women.

Some other Episcopal ministers followed the lead of Bishop

¹F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation* (New York, 1895), pp. 132-61.

²Samuel Tuke, *A Letter on Pauper Lunatic Asylums* (New York, 1815); Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (London, 1908), pp. 44-47, 72-74, 91.

³S. G. Howe, *Letters and Journals* (Boston, 1909), pp. 12-95.

⁴Bernard Fay, *Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times* (Boston, 1929), pp. 381-515.

⁵Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1887), Vol. V, pp. 349-50.

⁶Bird Wilson, *Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend William White, D. D.* (Philadelphia, 1839), p. 277; T. G. Allen, *Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Allen* (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 315.

⁷*Church Register* (Philadelphia, 1826), Vol. I, pp. 39, 41, 44, Vol. IV (1929), p. 140.

White in promoting work of this sort. Joseph Grove John Bend, the rector of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, was one of the founders of a society for the promotion of vaccination, and of the Baltimore Library and the Baltimore General Dispensary.⁸ The House of Refuge in Boston, the first juvenile reformatory in the country, was started by an Episcopal clergyman, the Reverend E. M. P. Wells,⁹ and the Boston House of Industry, an institution for the reformation of the intemperate, had for a time an Episcopal chaplain.¹⁰ James Milnor, rector of St. George's Church, New York, was an active supporter of benevolent organizations in that city.¹¹

Many Episcopalians, however, remained aloof from these early charitable enterprises, either from indifference, or, as in the case of some High Churchmen, on principle, holding that the dignity and prestige of the Church would suffer if her ministers were to participate in secular or interdenominational societies.¹² This was also true with respect to the later, nationwide, reform movements.

Of these the two most important were the abolition movement and the temperance movement. Both of them started as products of the general spirit of Christian-democratic benevolence which gave rise to the projects already discussed, but though non-political in origin, they both ended by advocating political action, and, consequently, played an important part in our country's history. As no certain date can be set for the beginning of either movement, it is difficult to say which was the older, but the abolition crusade reached its climax sooner, and the bitter sectional conflict which it roused tended for a time to obscure the temperance agitation.

II. THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

Occasional protests against slavery were heard throughout the colonial period. The first systematic effort for its abolition was begun among the Quakers about the middle of the eighteenth century under the leadership of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet.¹³ As a re-

⁸W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit* (New York, 1859), pp. 353-55.

⁹Diocese of Massachusetts, *Journal of Convention, 1831* (Cambridge, 1831), p. 43; *Banner of the Church* (Boston, 1831), Vol. I, p. 72.

¹⁰Diocese of Massachusetts, *Journal, 1831*, p. 44.

¹¹J. S. Stone, *A Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D.* (New York, 1848), pp. 300, 468.

¹²J. H. Hobart: *A Pastoral Letter to the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church on the Subject of Bible and Common Prayer Book Societies* (New York, 1815), and *An Address to Episcopalians on the Subject of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1816.)

¹³John Woolman, *Journal and Essays* (New York, 1922), pp. 29-30, 334-81.

sult of the campaign started by these two men, the Quakers eventually succeeded in purging their membership of slaveholding.¹⁴

The liberal political sentiments of the Revolutionary Era led to an increased opposition to slavery. Most of the leaders of the Revolution deplored its existence, and some of them made serious efforts to put an end to it. In 1785, Thomas Jefferson, writing to a correspondent who proposed to publish an anti-slavery tract, expressed the opinion that, southward of the Chesapeake, the pamphlet would meet with few sympathetic readers, but that, from the mouth to the head of that bay, the majority of the people would agree with it in theory and an influential minority would be ready to act on its proposals. "Northward of the Chesapeake," he wrote, "you may find, here and there, an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find, here and there, a robber and murderer; but in no greater number."¹⁵

Before the revolutionary spirit died down, it brought about the abolition of slavery in all of the states "northward of the Chesapeake"—i. e., north of Maryland and Delaware. This result occurred almost immediately after the establishment of independence in Pennsylvania and New England. In New York and New Jersey it took longer, as those two states adopted schemes of gradual emancipation which required several years to be completed.¹⁶

After emancipation programs had been adopted in all of the northern states, agitation on the subject subsided to some extent, though it never entirely died out. The problem was debated in the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland,¹⁷ and manumission societies were formed in various communities in North Carolina. In 1816 they were united in a state organization which continued to function until 1834.¹⁸

In spite of these activities, emancipation dropped out of public view to such an extent that when it once more began to be vigorously advocated, it was generally regarded as a new movement. This later phase of the campaign, to which the name "Abolition Movement" is most often applied, is usually held to have started with the establishment

¹⁴*A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends against Slavery and the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1843).

¹⁵Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (New York, 1859), Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

¹⁶H. S. Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey* (Baltimore, 1896), pp. 26-29; D. S. Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (New York, 1906), Vol. I, p. 111.

¹⁷T. M. Whitfield, *Slavery Agitation in Virginia, 1829-1832* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 23-48, 65-94; P. A. Bolling, *Speeches in the House of Delegates of Virginia* (Richmond, 1832); *Report of the Committee on Grievances of the House of Delegates of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1832).

¹⁸H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1816-1834* (Chapel Hill, 1934); Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati, 1876), p. 74.

of Benjamin Lundy's anti-slavery paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Lundy, a Quaker, founded the *Genius* in Mt. Pleasant, Tennessee, in 1821, but it did not attract much attention until he moved it to Baltimore in 1824.¹⁹

In 1828 Lundy visited Boston, where, he says, "I could hear of no abolitionists resident in the place."²⁰ He succeeded in winning the support of eight ministers and in converting a young man, named William Lloyd Garrison, who moved to Baltimore in the following year to become his assistant. Garrison's language was more violent and uncompromising than his chief's, and he soon found himself imprisoned for libel. After his release he returned to Boston, where he started a paper of his own, *The Liberator*, which soon became recognized as the most radical voice of abolitionism.²¹

In the meantime, the preaching of Charles G. Finney, a Congregational minister of liberal theological and social views, had led to a revival of anti-slavery activity in New York State. In 1833 the New York reformers, led by two wealthy merchants and philanthropists, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, issued a call for a national convention that resulted in the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society.²² This was not the first national society for the promotion of emancipation, having been preceded by one which was founded in Philadelphia in 1794 and survived to 1829, but it was the first to represent the new and more radical phase of the movement.²³

Though the organizing convention was called by New Yorkers, and met in Philadelphia, it was dominated by Garrison and his New England followers, and the *Declaration of Sentiments* of the new society had a distinctly Garrisonian ring. It declared slavery a crime, branded every slaveholder as a "man-stealer," asserted that "the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law," and opposed any scheme for the compensation of the masters, or for the expatriation of the freed slaves.²⁴

The strong language directed by the radical abolitionists against slaveholders and their friends was resented by southerners as a "cam-

¹⁹Benjamin Lundy, *Life, Travels and Opinions* (Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 19-20, 23.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 25.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 29; W. L. Garrison, *A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison* (Baltimore, 1830).

²²G. H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933), pp. 1-58.

²³A. D. Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America* (Boston, 1908), pp. 171-72.

²⁴*The Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society* (New York, 1835), pp. 4-5; *The Abolitionist* (Boston, 1833), Vol. I, pp. 177-80.

paign of abuse," and this resentment, combined with certain social and economic developments—the increase in the price of slaves resulting from the invention of the cotton gin and the opening up of the Southwest, and the occurrence of a number of slave insurrections—led to the suppression of active anti-slavery agitation in the South. This repression was never complete in the border states, and even in other parts of the section radical abolitionists were heard to speak out from time to time, but most of them were, sooner or later, driven north by mob violence, or the threat thereof, so that slavery became increasingly a sectional issue.²⁵

Though the original religious impulse of the emancipation movement was derived from the Quakers, other influences began to manifest themselves at an early date. Samuel Hopkins, a New England Calvinist leader, published a pamphlet against slavery in 1776,²⁶ and the first two bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, were clear and persistent in their testimony against human bondage.²⁷ In the later phase of the abolition crusade Calvinistic and Evangelical influences were predominant, and many of its characteristics were the product of that theological background.

Though Calvinism and Evangelicalism differed on the important issue of predestination versus free will, and though some Calvinists were opposed to revival preaching, the practical religious teaching of the two schools had many points in common. They both stressed the importance of personal religious devotion and, in America, at least, the need for conscious personal conversion. As a result of their emphasis on conversion and, in the case of the Calvinists, of the doctrine of election, they tended to divide mankind sharply into the saved and the reprobate. By force of association, this division led them to see a sharp cleavage between good and evil in all aspects of human life. They were both strongly ascetic in character and disposed to condemn as frivolous and dangerous many amusements and indulgences which other Christians regarded as innocent. Both laid great stress on the unique infallibility of the Bible and were inclined to strict literalness in their interpretation of it.

²⁵Whitefield, *op cit.*, pp. 58-64; Lundy, *op cit.*, pp. 28, 30; J. C. Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865* (Boston, 1938), pp. 83-140; L. M. Child, *Letters* (Boston, 1883), p. 89; J. G. Birney, *Letters* (New York, 1938), pp. 98-109, 149-50, 249-50; J. S. Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1898); C. M. Clay, *Letters* (New York, 1843); J. G. Fee, *Autobiography* (Chicago, 1891), pp. 17-156; H. R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis in the South* (New York, 1860).

²⁶Samuel Hopkins, *Sketches of the Life of the Late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D.* (Hartford, 1805), p. 100.

²⁷Thomas Coke, *Journals* (Dublin, 1816), pp. 64-65, 69, 73; Francis Asbury, *Journal* (New York, n. d.), Vol. I, p. 460, Vol. II, pp. 246-47, 367.

Because of their similar features, the two schools tended, as the spirit of theological controversy declined, to unite in a common outlook, and, thus fused, they formed the central tradition of American Protestantism. As a result of this merger it was possible for competing denominations in the nineteenth century to unite in general Bible societies and in organizations for the distribution of religious tracts and Sunday-school literature, and in the holding of community revivals. In the present century it has been possible to secure an even wider cooperation of American Protestants in the Federal Council of Churches. More striking still has been the development in the American mind of the belief—incomprehensible to Europeans—that denominational differences are the result of historical accidents and that “we all agree in fundamentals.”

This religious influence on abolitionism showed itself in the insistence that emancipation must be “immediate,” without regard to the practical difficulties involved, an insistence which was based upon the conviction, constantly stressed in anti-slavery literature, that slaveholding was not merely a grave social evil, but a personal sin, from which the slaveholder ought immediately to repent, for the saving of his soul.²⁸ Some of the agitators did assert that by “immediate abolition” they meant emancipation immediately started, though it might be gradually carried out, but this softer interpretation was justified by the theological language of the day, where “immediate repentance” was often used to mean repentance which began at once but came gradually to completion.²⁹

Underlying the conviction that slaveholding was a personal sin, and explaining the intolerance of the abolitionists toward all who did not accept their extreme conviction, was the belief, which was certainly derived, at least in part, from their Calvinist-Evangelical background, that the division between good and evil in human affairs was so clear that no one, with honest goodwill and a modicum of intelligence, need hesitate as to which side he would take. This belief, to which Lowell gave eloquent expression in the lines beginning,

“Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side,”

was inherent in nearly all nineteenth-century reform movements, and has been carried over into a good deal of modern radicalism.

²⁸*Declaration of Sentiments*, p. 4; *Abolitionist*, Vol. I, pp. 14-16; A. A. Phelps, *Lectures on Slavery and Its Remedy* (Boston, 1834), pp. 27-137; William Jay, *An Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies* (New York, 1835), p. 128; John Lawrence, *The Slavery Question* (Dayton, 1854), p. iii.

²⁹Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 154; C. E. Beecher, *An Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism, with Reference to the Duty of American Females* (Philadelphia, 1837), p. 7.

In spite of its religious character, radical abolitionism never received the unqualified support of any major denomination, though it did succeed in dividing some important churches along sectional lines. The Quakers had successfully purged their own society of slaveholding, and had provided the emancipation movement with its earliest leadership, but most of them were not in sympathy with the later and more aggressive phase of the crusade.³⁰ In one or two instances Quakers were actually disciplined by their local meetings for anti-slavery activity,³¹ and in 1843 the condemnation of such agitation by conservatives caused a temporary schism in the Indiana yearly meeting.³²

The Methodist Episcopal Church at first condemned slavery, then tolerated it among lay members, then endeavored to suppress anti-slavery agitation among its northern clergy, and, finally, in 1844, divided over the proper interpretation of the clause in its Discipline forbidding slaveholding to ministers. Some of the border conferences adhered to the northern half of the Church, and slaveholding among them continued until the Civil War. Only in 1864 was the Discipline finally amended so as to forbid the practice altogether.³³

The Presbyterian Church in 1793 adopted a "judgment" in favor of "universal liberty" and in 1794 approved a "note" on the eighth commandment identifying slavery with manstealing. In 1816 this note was rescinded. In 1818 slavery was called a "gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature," and Presbyterians were directed to work for abolition "with no greater delay than a regard for the public welfare demands." Subsequently, the Church became divided into New School and Old School. The New School split over the slavery question in 1853, but, like the Methodist Church, it did not clearly forbid slaveholding by its members. The old School receded from the stand of 1818 and adopted a neutral position.³⁴

The Baptist Church had no central governing body, but the various churches did unite in a common missionary program. In 1845 this work was amicably divided between North and South as the result of

³⁰S. J. May, *Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict* (Boston, 1869), pp. 147-50.

³¹I. T. Hopper, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York and Their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings in the Case of Isaac T. Hopper* (New York, 1853); E. B. Chace and L. B. Lovell, *Two Quaker Sisters* (New York, 1937), pp. 115-16, 121-22.

³²Coffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-34.

³³C. B. Swancy, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery* (Boston, 1926).

³⁴J. G. Birney, *The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery* (Concord, N. H., 1885, repr.), pp. 32-37; R. E. Thompson, *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States* (New York, 1895), pp. 133-37; Albert Barnes, *The Church and Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 54-168.

northern objection to the appointment of slaveholders as missionaries.³⁵

The Episcopal Church, as might be expected from its ecclesiastical and social character, remained officially neutral throughout the conflict, insofar as it is possible to be neutral on any question that is the subject of widespread and bitter controversy. Calvinism and Evangelicalism both had an important place in the thought of the Anglican Communion. The earliest systematic theology in the Church of England after the Reformation was Calvinist, and Evangelicalism constituted one of the two major parties in the Church during the nineteenth century, but these schools of thought were always opposed by a strong high church party, whose tendency was to emphasize the less Protestant elements in the Anglican tradition. This division kept the Episcopal Church from ever becoming fully absorbed in the main body of American Protestantism, and, at the same time, necessitated the maintenance of a constant spirit of compromise within the denomination, in order to preserve some sort of working unity between the opposing parties.

Compromise in matters of importance can be justified only if you believe the doctrine that there is likely to be right on both sides of any dispute. The all-out tone of most abolition propaganda was, therefore, foreign to the genius of Anglicanism. Many Episcopalians, in both sections of the country, agreed that slavery was an evil, but few of them were prepared to accept the radical doctrine that slaveholding was a sin. They regarded the question as a social rather than a moral issue, and they held, in common with most Americans of the day, that it was inconsistent with the separation of church and state for a religious body to speak officially on any social problem that was not primarily moral or religious in character.³⁶

Though the popular belief that the Episcopal Church was the church of the "upper classes" was greatly exaggerated, it was true that it had a large enough proportion of wealthy and conservative members to exercise an important influence upon its thinking. Prosperity and radicalism do not commonly go together, and, with the exception of a few philanthropists, like the Tappans and Gerrit Smith, rich people generally held themselves aloof from extreme abolitionism. Most American wealth before the Civil War was derived from commerce, and the commercial classes had an economic interest in the preservation of southern trade.³⁷ The wealthy of the North and South mingled socially at various fashionable resorts, and in northern colleges, where

³⁵A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1894), pp. 443-53.

³⁶Anthony Schuyler, *Slaveholding as a Religious Question* (Oswego, 1861).

³⁷Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (New York, 1837), Vol. I, pp. 120-34, Vol. II, p. 157.

the sons of the richer planters were frequently sent to complete their education. The friendly intercourse that resulted made it difficult for those who shared in it to accept the usual abolitionist picture of the slaveholder as a kidnapper, adulterer, and murderer.³⁸

Yet another factor influencing Episcopalians toward neutrality on this issue was the fear of a sectional division. The loyalty of both Evangelicals and High Churchmen to the Church made them dread any thought of schism, and this fear was strengthened, in the case of the Evangelicals (who, because they were nearer to the central tradition of American Protestantism, were most responsive to abolition teachings), by the fact that the South was the section of their greatest strength.

To the radical mind there is no such thing as neutrality, and the abolitionists were not slow in branding the Episcopal Church, as well as most other American denominations, as an active supporter of slavery. One of their pamphleteers summed up their understanding of the Church's course by saying, "From the commencement of our enterprise, it has been an inveterate enemy of abolition, and has thrown its entire influence, as a body, into the scale of slavery."³⁹

This is a good example of propagandist hyperbole, but it is true that the failure of the Church to condemn human bondage sometimes led it into actions which seemed to outsiders to imply an approval of the institution. This happened whenever General Convention gave its sanction to the consecration of a bishop who was a slaveholder, or elected a slaveholding missionary bishop. One such election which gave especial offense was the choice, in 1844, of George Washington Freeman as bishop of Arkansas, Indian Territory and Texas, for Freeman was the author of a pamphlet which was said to be one of the first efforts, since the Revolution, to justify slavery as right in principle.⁴⁰

In 1843 the editor of the *Spirit of Missions* exposed the Church to attack by giving his approval to the scheme of a Louisiana planter, John McDonogh, for allowing slaves to earn their liberty over a period of approximately fifteen years, and then sending them to Liberia to

³⁸G. W. Curtis, *The Potiphar Papers* (New York, 1853), pp. 77, 98-118; Philip Hone, *Diary, 1828-1851* (New York, 1936), pp. 74, 405, 408, 410-16, 489, 559.

³⁹S. F. Foster, *The Brotherhood of Thieves* (Concord, N. H., 1886, repr.), p. 58.

⁴⁰G. W. Freeman, *The Rights and Duties of Slave-holders* (Charleston, 1837); William Jay, *Caste and Slavery in the American Church* (New York, 1843), p. 45; John Jay, *The American Church and the African Slave Trade* (New York, 1860), pp. 19-20.

spend their last days in Africa and freedom. To the editor, as to its original advocate, this seemed to be one of those convenient forms of practical benevolence which enable us to do good without having it cost us anything, and he proposed the establishment of a Church school in Louisiana to be supported by slave labor worked under this plan.⁴¹ His suggestion was promptly denounced by abolitionists as "a cool, deliberate proposition to Churchmen, to speculate in the bones and muscles of their brethren, to make the Church a trafficker in 'slaves and the souls of men.'"⁴²

Most Episcopalians followed the lead of their Church in avoiding extreme views on the slavery question, but a few were numbered among the radical opponents of the institution, and an approximately equal number were included among its active defenders. One of the first vice-presidents of the American Anti-Slavery Society was an Episcopal clergyman, E. M. P. Wells, already mentioned as founder of the House of Refuge in Boston.⁴³ In 1848 a young Anglo-Catholic priest, Evan M. Johnson, published a pamphlet denouncing slavery as a violation of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints.⁴⁴ Two other ministers, John Patterson Lundy and Thomas Atkins, published tracts against bondage, both of them in answer to a defense of the institution by Bishop John Henry Hopkins of Vermont.⁴⁵

The continuity of anti-slavery agitation in New York State is graphically illustrated by the role played in it by a single family, the Jays, all of whom were Episcopalians. John Jay the elder, Revolutionary diplomat and first Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, served for many years as president of the New York Manumission Society, the organization which brought about the freeing of the slaves in the Empire State, and laid the foundations of Negro education there.⁴⁶ His son, William Jay, was one of the most active pamphleteers of the radical abolition movement.⁴⁷ William's son, the

⁴¹John McDonogh, *Self Emancipation, a Successful Experiment on a Large Estate in Louisiana* (Repr. from *The Colonization Journal*, Feb., 1842); *Spirit of Missions* (New York, 1843), Vol. VIII, pp. 68-75.

⁴²William Jay, *Caste and Slavery*, pp. 37-39.

⁴³*The Abolitionist*, Vol. I, p. 177.

⁴⁴E. M. Johnson, *The Communion of Saints* (Brooklyn, 1848).

⁴⁵J. P. Lundy, *Review of Bishop Hopkins Bible View of Slavery* (Philadelphia, n. d.); Thomas Atkins, *American Slavery* (New York, n. d.).

⁴⁶John Jay, *Correspondence and Public Papers* (New York, 1891), Vol. III, pp. 185, 340-44, 414-15.

⁴⁷William Jay: *An Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization, and the American Anti-Slavery Societies* (New York, 1835); *Caste and Slavery in the American Church* (New York, 1843); *Letter on Mr. Webster's Speech* (New York, 1850); *Letters Respecting the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Tract Society* (New York, 1853); *An Examination of the Mosaic Law of Servitude* (New York, 1854).

second John Jay, carried on the family tradition in the last days of the crusade, on the eve of the Civil War and during it.⁴⁸ Another prominent New York Episcopalian, James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist, was an early advocate of gradual emancipation for the South as well as the North.⁴⁹

The most noteworthy Episcopalian defenders of slavery, with the exception of Bishop Freeman, were northerners and high churchmen, who feared that anti-slavery agitation would lead to a division of the Union, and, consequently, of the Church. In 1851 N. S. Wheaton, rector of Christ Church, Hartford, preached a sermon, subsequently printed, in which he urged on northerners the duty of complying with the Fugitive Slave Law.⁵⁰ Samuel Seabury, editor of the *Churchman*, then a high church organ, defended slavery in the columns of that paper, and in a pamphlet.⁵¹

Bishop Hopkins, in a discourse delivered in Buffalo in 1851, defended slavery as sanctioned by Scripture, but maintained that it was a practical evil, as it existed in America, and proposed its abolition through the colonization of the Negroes in Africa. This project, he believed, could be financed by the sale of public lands.⁵² On the eve of the Civil War he published a more extended presentation of the biblical argument,⁵³ which was reprinted for political purposes by the democrats of Pennsylvania in 1863. This reprint was attacked by Bishop Alonzo Potter of that state, and, in reply to him, Bishop Hopkins issued a still longer pamphlet in which proof texts from ecclesiastical history were added to those from the Bible.⁵⁴ In these later treatises the emphasis was on the lawfulness of slavery, and the colonization proposal was mentioned only incidentally.

Unqualified denunciation of slavery, on the one hand, and its defense as right in principle, on the other, did not by any means exhaust the possible attitudes toward that institution. On the contrary,

⁴⁸John Jay: *The American Church and the African Slave Trade* (New York, 1860); *The Rise and Fall of the Pro-Slavery Democracy, and the Rise and Duties of the Republican Party* (New York, 1861); *The Constitutional Principles of the Abolitionists* (New York, 1864). For the Jay genealogy, cf. Cornelia Jay, *Diary* (New York, 1924), p. 1.

⁴⁹J. F. Cooper, *Notions of the Americans* (Philadelphia, 1833), Vol. II, pp. 266-67.

⁵⁰N. S. Wheaton, *A Discourse on St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon* (Hartford, 1851).

⁵¹Samuel Seabury, *American Slavery Distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists and Justified by the Law of Nature* (New York, 1861).

⁵²J. H. Hopkins, *Slavery: Its Religious Sanction, Its Practical Dangers, and the Best Mode of Doing It Away* (Buffalo, 1851).

⁵³J. H. Hopkins, *Bible View of Slavery* (New York, 1861).

⁵⁴J. H. Hopkins, *A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical, and Historical View of Slavery* (New York, 1864).

it is probable that the views of a majority of Americans, both north and south, up to the Civil War, lay somewhere between those extremes.

One middle-of-the-road position which was popular with conservatives in both sections was that represented by the American Colonization Society. This body was formed in 1816, with distinguished support, for the purpose of colonizing free people of color, with their own consent, in Africa. Its constitution forbade any discussion of the merits of slavery in its meetings, and, in the eyes of the radicals, it was, in fact, proslavery. They charged that its real object was to remove free Negroes from the South, where their presence was objectionable to the white population, and tended to make the slaves discontented.

To some of its members this may have seemed a desirable end, but many of its principal supporters, including its first president, Henry Clay, cherished the hope that its example might induce the slave states to adopt some plan of publicly financed colonization as a method of gradual emancipation.⁵⁵ Of the Negroes which it sent to Africa before the Civil War, slightly more than half were manumitted expressly for the purpose, and it recognized the capacity of the race for self-government when it advised its Liberian colonists to assert their national independence.⁵⁶ Its conservatism made it appeal to Episcopalians who thought they ought to do something about slavery, and a good many of them were included in its membership.⁵⁷ Bishop White gave it his influential support in a notice read in Christ Church, Philadelphia, in 1828.⁵⁸

More important politically than either radical abolitionism or colonization was the free soil movement, which, while not seeking to interfere with slavery in the states where it already existed, opposed its extension into the new territories of the West.⁵⁹ Drawn originally from both democratic and whig parties in the North, the free soilers eventually united in the republican party, whose victory in 1860 precipitated the Civil War and led to the termination of slavery through the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment. Two

⁵⁵Henry Clay, *Works* (New York, 1897), Vol. III, p. 335.

⁵⁶American Colonization Society, *Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary* (Washington, 1867), pp. 11-12, 16, 32, 77, 81-91, 93-97, 122.

⁵⁷James Milnor, *Plea for the American Colonization Society* (New York, 1826); W. M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General* (New York, 1915), Vol. I, pp. 111-12; W. C. Doane, *A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane* (New York, 1860), p. 250; J. H. Taylor, *Sketches of the Religious Experience and Labors of a Layman* (Hartford, 1867), p. 31; William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1857), Vol. I, p. 59.

⁵⁸*Church Register* (Philadelphia, 1828), Vol. III, p. 207.

⁵⁹Horace Greeley, *Autobiography* (New York, 1872), pp. 285, 293.

of the outstanding leaders of this movement, William Henry Seward, of New York, and Salmon Portland Chase, of Ohio, were Episcopalians, and so were many others associated with it.⁶⁰

Though radical abolitionism was suppressed in most parts of the South, and though, as the controversy grew more and more sectional in character, an increasing number of southerners began to defend slavery as right in principle and beneficial in its practical operation, there continued to be a good many who regarded it as an evil and hoped for its eradication by some form of gradual emancipation. As late as 1859 a proslavery propagandist estimated that there were still "thousands" of people in the region who held this opinion.⁶¹

Among those "thousands" were included many prominent Episcopalians. Bishop William Meade of Virginia, in a pastoral letter on the duty of instructing slaves in Christianity, said of their original importation, "This was accompanied, at the time, by cruelties the most horrible, and has ever since been attended by many evils to them, to us, to our country at large, and has the fearful prospect of greater yet to come."⁶² A prayer which he wrote for the use of masters ended with a petition to be convinced of sin if the suppliant was wrong in keeping his slaves "another moment in bondage."⁶³

Bishop William R. Whittingham of Maryland, who later became one of the leaders of the union party in that state, wrote to a Philadelphia paper in 1859, expressing the view that slavery was "lawful" and that the abolitionists should not interfere with it in the South, but that it was a great social evil and ought not to be extended.⁶⁴ Bishop Leonidas Polk of Louisiana, though he was the largest slaveholder in the episcopate, and died a Confederate general, remained to the last an advocate of gradual emancipation,⁶⁵ as did an even better known Confederate officer, a layman of the Episcopal Church, General Robert E. Lee.⁶⁶

⁶⁰W. H. and F. W. Seward, *Autobiography, Memoir and Letters* (New York, 1891), Vol. I, p. 54; L. C. Smith, *The Life of Philander Chase* (New York, 1903), pp. 25-28.

⁶¹G. S. Sawyer, *Southern Institutes* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 386. Cf., also, D. R. Goodloe, *The Southern Platform* (Boston, 1858).

⁶²William Meade, *Pastoral Letter on the Duty of Affording Religious Instruction to Those in Bondage* (Richmond, 1834, repr., 1853).

⁶³William Jay, *Caste and Slavery*, p. 40n.

⁶⁴W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham* (New York, 1886), Vol. II, p. 269.

⁶⁵Polk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 113, 179, 239.

⁶⁶R. E. Lee, *Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee* (New York, 1904), pp. 231-32.

III. THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

What has been said of the religious background of abolitionism applies with even greater force to the temperance movement. Its inspiration was avowedly religious from the start. In the words of its first national organization, the American Temperance Society, "Every reformation from sin and death, to be successful, must be prosecuted in the spirit of the Gospel, and by motives drawn from the cross of Christ, and with reference to eternity . . . And this is peculiarly the case with regard to the Temperance reformation. No general and strongly marked progress was made on this subject, till it was taken up and prosecuted in this manner."⁶⁷

Since it raised no sectional issue, it enjoyed the united support of the churches in the central tradition. P. H. Odegard, the historian of its latest and politically most effective agency, says:

"Certainly the Anti-Saloon League has received no appreciable support from the Catholics or Jews. The fact that the Episcopal and Lutheran churches do not as a rule admit the League speakers seems to justify the statement that it is a league of Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches, although it is not, by any means, limited to these denominations."⁶⁸

In the history of the temperance movement, we can distinguish three main divisions. In its first phase, it was an effort to secure moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages. In its second, it advocated voluntary abstinence, first from distilled liquors, and later from alcoholic drinks of all kinds. In its third, it sought the passing of laws against the manufacture and sale of such beverages. The second and third phases overlapped, as the campaign for voluntary abstinence was continued along with the propaganda for legal suppression, but the third was a little later in starting.

The first phase was short lived, as might be expected from the background and circumstances of the movement. For such habitual drunkards as were converted, total abstinence was obviously safer than moderate drinking. For the normally sober persons who always constituted the chief membership of the temperance societies, a pledge of moderation involved little change, and was, therefore, lacking in dramatic appeal. A promise to give up drinking altogether represented a defi-

⁶⁷American Temperance Society, *Permanent Temperance Documents* (Boston, 1835), p. 373. Cf. also, T. S. Grimke, *The Temperance Reformation the Cause of Christian Morals* (Charleston, 1834); W. F. Brand, *A Letter on Prohibition and God's Law* (Baltimore, 1886), p. 4.

⁶⁸P. H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics* (New York, 1928), p. 18.

nite act of decision and renunciation, similar in character to a religious conversion, and fitted in with the sheep-and-goats view of humanity which characterized the American religious tradition.

In order that total abstinence could be advocated with the fervor that marked the best revival preaching, it was necessary to prove that moderate drinking was a sin. The usual argument for this thesis, elaborated by innumerable lecturers and pamphleteers, was based upon the theory that drunkenness was the result of a physical "taste for liquor" which gradually grew upon those who used alcoholic beverages until it became irresistible. Hence, the drunkard himself was only slightly responsible for his position, and the chief blame must rest on those who started him drinking.

The most obvious offender in this respect was the seller of liquor, but the one who first attracted the attention of the temperance agitators and at whom their sharpest arrows were aimed was the moderate drinker. He, it was said, both set the example of drinking and supplied the chief support of the liquor industry, for though the propagandists maintained that the moderate drinker was already on the way to be a drunkard, they also affirmed that the number of moderate drinkers was so much larger than the number of drunkards that the liquor trade must collapse without their support. Therefore, the temperate drinker was responsible for drunkenness and all the evils that sprang from it. Since it was an axiom of the movement that drunkenness led to an early grave, it followed that the moderate drinker was guilty of murder.⁶⁹

The attention of the temperance advocates was not directed to the makers and sellers of liquor until they found that the respectable, church-going character of many of these people was cited as an argument against total abstinence. Then it was discovered that the case against the moderate drinker applied, *a fortiori*, to the dealer, and, in its fifth annual report, the American Temperance Society issued what sounded very much like an edict to the churches to expel such persons from their membership.⁷⁰

It was in an equally indirect way that the movement was led into advocacy of legislation against liquor. Having induced the churches of the central tradition to repudiate the "rum-sellers," the crusaders were still met with the contention that at least these people had the approval of the community, since they were officially licensed to carry on their

⁶⁹*Permanent Temperance Documents*, pp. 5, 7, 15, 24, 27, 28, 53, 132, 227, 146; William Shelton, *An Address Delivered before a Large Assembly of Citizens of Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1835), p. 6; Alonzo Potter, *The Drinking Usages of Society* (Boston, 1858), pp. 8-10; D. A. Tyng, *The Voice of Blood* (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 8; J. S. Stone, *An Address Delivered before the Young Men's Temperance Society of New Haven, Conn.* (New Haven, n. d.), pp. 8, 15.

⁷⁰*Permanent Temperance Documents*, p. 153.

trade. It was to answer this argument, and not, at first, from any loss of faith in the voluntary principle, that the leaders began to oppose the license system. So little did they realize the significance of the change, that the sixth report of the American Temperance Society, which first put forward the no-license demand, also said, "The weapons of their warfare being not carnal, and operating not by force, or coercion, but by light and love, on the conscience and the heart, are mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."⁷¹

Episcopalian Evangelicals generally favored the temperance cause as long as it placed chief emphasis upon voluntary abstinence, and some of them even followed it into the advocacy of prohibition. No threat of schism being involved, they did not, as in the case of abolition, feel it necessary to be cautious in the expression of their views. Not only did they write numerous pamphlets on temperance,⁷² but in several dioceses where they controlled the conventions they passed resolutions in favor of the reform, and thus gave it some degree of official sanction.⁷³

Other Episcopalians, while they, naturally, were in favor of temperance in the ordinary sense of the word, and had no objection to voluntary abstinence, as such, regarded the doctrine that moderate drinking was a sin as extravagant and unscriptural, and thought that the argument for it was both illogical and based on doubtful premises. They objected to the virtual denial of moral responsibility on the part of the drunkard which it implied, and they doubted the taste-for-liquor theory of drunkenness, being more inclined to attribute it to moral and psychological causes. They could not see why moderation should be held to set an example for excess in drinking any more than in other matters.⁷⁴

Some felt that seeking moral reform through secular societies implied an almost infidel lack of confidence in the regular means of Christian teaching. Many were shocked by such expressions of temperance extremists as the statement of an early advocate that "the covenant of baptism has been relied on long enough; and now other means

⁷¹*Permanent Temperance Documents*, pp. 231, 250, 270-82.

⁷²Potter, *op. cit.*; Tyng, *op. cit.*; Stone, *Address*; Shelton, *op. cit.*; Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16; Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-78; Philander Chase, *Reminiscences* (Boston, 1848), Vol. I, p. 483.

⁷³Diocese of Rhode Island, *Journal of Convention, 1834* (Providence, 1834), p. 8; Eastern Diocese, *Journal of Convention, 1834* (Salem, 1834), p. 25; Diocese of Ohio, *Journal of Convention, 1833* (Gambier, 1833), p. 19; Meade, *Old Churches*, p. 59.

⁷⁴Brand, *Letter*; William Tatlock, *The Sin of Drunkenness and Its Cure* (Stamford, 1882); W. R. Huntington, *The Principle of the Pledge* (New York, 1878); J. H. Hopkins, *The Life of the Late Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins* (New York, 1873), pp. 168-73.

must be tried to make men sober and keep them so,"⁷⁵ and the declaration made by a Protestant minister during the prohibition era that, "in setting his approval on the use of wine for beverage purposes Christ . . . belonged to a lower civilization."⁷⁶

In 1881 an effort was made by some Episcopalians to take a middle ground on the temperance question by forming, after an English model, the Church Temperance Society, whose object was the "union and co-operation, on equal terms, for the promotion of temperance of those who use moderately and those who entirely abstain from intoxicating beverages."⁷⁷ It enlisted the support of some well known leaders of the Church, but the extent of its influence was not large. Early in the first World War it became converted to prohibition, but after a few years of the eighteenth amendment it became unconverted and campaigned against it.⁷⁸

In general, Episcopalian support for the temperance movement declined in proportion as it became a prohibition movement. On the eve of the "noble experiment," in the words of the Church Temperance Society, "The Episcopal Church as a whole, from the Presiding Bishop down, stood like a wall against Prohibition," but when it became the law of the land most of the Church's leaders took the view that it was the duty of good citizens to observe it.⁷⁹ In 1927 the Church Temperance Society sent a questionnaire to the clergy of the Church the answers to which showed a strong sentiment in favor of modification.⁸⁰

During the earlier years of the movement General Convention remained silent on the subject, as it did on all matters not of a strictly ecclesiastical nature, but after the growing interest in general social questions had broken down this tradition, it passed some resolutions on the liquor question. In 1892, in response to a memorial from the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the House of Bishops expressed a doubt that the legislation favored by the Union represented the best way to promote temperance.⁸¹ In 1916 both houses resolved, "That this Church places itself on record as favoring such action in our legislative assemblies as will conserve the large interests of temperance and the repression of the liquor traffic."⁸² This Delphic utterance was the nearest that the convention ever got to approving pro-

⁷⁵Brand, *Letter*, p. 21.

⁷⁶Church Temperance Society, *Prohibition as We See It* (New York, 1928), pp. 7-10.

⁷⁷B. B. Smith, *The Church Temperance Society: A Statement of Its Character and Purpose* (New York, 1881), p. 6.

⁷⁸*Prohibition As We See It*, pp. 7-10.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁸¹General Convention, *Journal*, 1892 (New York, 1893), p. 140.

⁸²General Convention, *Journal*, 1916 (New York, 1917), pp. 328, 343.

hibition, but while the Eighteenth Amendment was the law, it did express disapproval of its violation.⁸³

IV. THE PACIFIST MOVEMENT

Though the pacifist movement never attracted so much attention or exerted so much influence as the abolition and temperance crusades, it is important enough to deserve inclusion in any general survey of major American reform efforts. If its course were to be plotted on a graph in relation to the chief events of United States history, it would be found to form a jagged line, rising to a peak on the eve of every war, declining to almost nothing during the conflict (except in the Mexican and Spanish Wars), rising sharply afterward, and then slanting gradually downward to start up again as a new struggle approached. When events are obviously shaping themselves toward war, peace-loving men become active in an effort to avert the catastrophe. After the country gets into war, if it is one of major proportions, pacifism becomes disreputable and testimony in its behalf is carried on only by a few religious enthusiasts. When the war is over, the "never again" feeling leads to a renewal of peace efforts, but interest in these declines as domestic issues come to the fore.

In accordance with this tendency, the peace movement during the nineteenth century received its first impetus at the close of the War of 1812. Three different pacifist societies were started in 1815, one in New York, one in Massachusetts, and one in Ohio.⁸⁴ In 1828 a national organization, the American Peace Society, was formed.⁸⁵ During the thirties interest in the work declined,⁸⁶ but it was renewed in the forties by the rise of the Oregon controversy and the approach of the Mexican War. Peace agitation continued throughout that contest, because it was opposed by a strong party who regarded it as an attempt to increase slave territory.⁸⁷ After the fight was over pacifism again declined. It was reawakened on the eve of the Civil War, but subsided quickly after the fall of Fort Sumter.⁸⁸

⁸³General Convention, *Journal*, 1922 (New York, 1923), pp. 366, 399.

⁸⁴Devere Allen, *The Fight for Peace* (New York, 1930), pp. 4-5; Samuel Whelpley, *Letters to Caleb Strong* (New York, 1816); Noah Worcester, *The Friend of Peace* (Greenfield, Mass., 1817); Josiah Quincy, *Address Delivered at the Fifth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Peace Society* (Cambridge, 1821); William Ladd, *Essays on Peace and War* (Portland, 1827).

⁸⁵E. L. Whitney, *The American Peace Society* (Washington, 1928), p. 19.

⁸⁶J. W. Howe, *Modern Society* (Boston, 1881), pp. 67-68.

⁸⁷S. E. Coates, *War and Christianity* (Boston, 1842); William Jay, *War and Peace* (New York, 1842); Charles Sumner, *The True Grandeur of Nations* (Boston, 1845); John Weiss, *Conscience the Best Policy* (New Bedford, 1848); Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁸⁸Gerrit Smith, *Peace Better Than War* (Boston, 1858); Adin Ballou, *Autobiography* (Lowell, 1896), p. 416; Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-15.

The religious background of pacifism was similar to that of abolition. It drew its earliest inspiration from the Quakers, but later obtained a substantial following among people bred in the Calvinist-Evangelical tradition. Membership in the two movements overlapped to a considerable extent prior to the Civil War, but most of their joint supporters were more notably active in one cause than the other, so that they can be identified as primarily pacifist or primarily abolitionist. An exception was William Jay, who was equally zealous in both causes. Jay, who served for some years as president of the American Peace Society,⁸⁹ was the only Episcopalian who was conspicuously active in the early stages of the anti-war crusade.

After the Civil War pacifism underwent a brief revival,⁹⁰ but soon declined. Interest in it was reawakened in the nineties, as a result of the increasing attention that was being given to social problems generally. This interest was intensified by the Venezuelan crisis of 1896 and the Spanish War of 1898, which many regarded as the result of an unwholesome combination of mob hysteria and imperial ambition.⁹¹ The calling of the first Hague Conference in 1899 gave further impetus to the movement, and it showed increasing strength from the beginning of the new century to the entrance of the United States in the First World War.⁹² During that war agitation for immediate peace was left to a few extremists, but many people took consolation in the slogan, "A War to End War," and in the hope that some sort of world unity would emerge from the struggle.⁹³

After the armistice, peace agitation again became vigorous. At first most pacifists concentrated on the support of the League of Nations.

⁸⁹G. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁹⁰A. P. Peabody, *Lessons from Our Late Rebellion* (Boston, 1867); A. H. Love, *Address of the Universal Peace Society* (Philadelphia, 1866).

⁹¹Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-75, 192, 203-6; William James, *Letters* (Boston, 1920), Vol. II, p. 31; G. F. Hoar, *Autobiography* (New York, 1905), Vol. II, pp. 304-26; J. A. Kasson, *International Arbitration* (Washington, 1896); H. S. Clubb, *Full Proceedings of the Conference in Favor of International Arbitration* (Philadelphia, 1896); Reuben Thomas, *The War System* (Boston, 1898).

⁹²J. B. Scott, ed., *Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Peace Conferences and Their Official Reports* (New York, 1916); C. M. Woodward, *The Arts of War and the Arts of Peace* (New York, 1906); E. D. Meade, *The Limitation of Armaments* (New York, 1907); William James, *Memories and Studies* (New York, 1911), pp. 267-306; W. H. Taft, *Address at the Banquet of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes* (Washington, 1911); Andrew Carnegie, *Address at the Citizens Peace Banquet* (New York, 1912); D. M. Lyon, *The Christian Equivalent of War* (New York, 1915); M. L. Degen, *The History of the Woman's Peace Party* (Baltimore, 1939), pp. 11-191.

⁹³Degen, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-216; N. M. Butler, *The Basis of Durable Peace* (New York, 1917); Theodore Marburg, *League of Nations* (New York, 1917-18); J. B. Scott, *Peace through Justice* (New York, 1917); Thorstein Veblen, *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation* (New York, 1917).

When that cause began to seem hopeless, they divided their efforts among a variety of objectives, such as the reduction of armaments, suppression of war profits, the World Court, and the "outlawry of war" by "non-aggression pacts." They continued active throughout the twenty years of peace, though public attention was distracted from their propaganda, to some extent, by the economic crisis of the early thirties.⁹⁴

In the opening years of the Second World War many peace lovers lined up behind the isolationist banner, because, inconsistent as that ideal was with internationalism, it seemed to offer the best hope of keeping the United States out of war.⁹⁵ After Pearl Harbor, the isolationists and all but the most radical of their pacifist allies stopped their agitation and united with the rest of the country in supporting the war effort.

In its religious aspect the later pacifist movement was closely related to the wider movement known as Social Christianity, and the interest taken by many Episcopalians in that development led to a corresponding interest in pacifism. In 1892 this concern received official recognition when General Convention adopted a petition, addressed to all Christian rulers, urging them to forward the cause of peaceful arbitration.⁹⁶ Thereafter, resolutions in favor of peace, of increasing strength and clearness, were adopted by almost every General Convention up to and including that of 1916,⁹⁷ but this did not prevent the Episcopal Church from becoming enthusiastically militaristic after the United States entered the First World War. One bishop, Paul Jones of Utah, did keep on saying the same things in favor of peace that the whole Church had been saying a short time before. As a result of this indiscretion he was compelled by his brother bishops to resign his jurisdiction.⁹⁸

In 1919 the chorus of peace resolves was resumed, and continued

⁹⁴D. W. Morrow, *The Society of Free States* (New York, 1919); S. F. Gulick, *The Christian Crusade for a Warless World* (New York, 1922); Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page, *The Abolition of War* (New York, 1924); C. C. Morrison, *The Outlawry of War* (Chicago, 1927); J. B. Matthews, *Youth Looks at World Peace* (New York, 1929); J. T. Shotwell, *War as an Instrument of National Policy and Its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris* (New York, 1929); H. C. Engelbrecht, "One Hell of a Business" (New York, 1934); C. C. Catt and others, *Why Wars Must Cease* (New York, 1935); J. P. Lash and J. A. Wechsler, *War Our Heritage* (New York, 1936); L. L. Ludlow, *Hell or Heaven* (Boston, 1937); Stephen and Joan Rausenbush, *War Madness* (New York, 1937).

⁹⁵Norman Thomas and B. D. Wolfe, *Keep America Out of War* (New York, 1939); P. C. French, ed., *Common Sense Neutrality* (New York, 1939); Quincy Howe, *Blood Is Cheaper than Water* (New York, 1939); A. M. Lindbergh, *The Wave of the Future* (New York, 1940); *New York Times*, Sept. 22, 1939, June 2, 1940, Mar. 9, 1941; *New York World-Telegram*, Jan. 23, 1941.

⁹⁶General Convention, *Journal*, 1892, pp. 299, 307.

⁹⁷General Convention, *Journal*, 1916 (New York, 1917), pp. 252-53.

⁹⁸General Convention, *Journal*, 1919 (New York, 1919), pp. 481-97.

through 1937, but when the Second World War started many prominent Episcopalians took a strongly interventionist stand long before the American entry.⁹⁹ After that event, which was certainly not delayed by the policies of the Church's most prominent layman, not one of her outstanding spokesmen continued to advocate peace.

The cause of this vacillation probably lies in the fact that the peaceful resolutions of the Church, like those of the country at large, have not been related to any definite program of action. Between wars, aspirations for permanent peace are widely shared, and almost any proposal for attaining that objective wins temporary applause, but no one policy is agreed upon and carried out. The forces making for war are deplored, but they are not effectively checked. When war comes the need for self-defense is recognized by everyone, except the most thoroughgoing non-resistants, and Church and nation perform a sharp right-about-face, seizing their weapons as they turn.

V. SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

The abolition, temperance and pacifist crusades were alike in that each were directed toward the correction of a single specific evil. Their supporters, for the most part, were satisfied with the general social and economic structure of the country, but thought that its perfection was marred by certain defects which could be corrected without altering its basic pattern. The movement known in Europe as Christian Socialism and in America as Social Christianity was much broader in its aims. In its radical and most characteristic phase, it sought nothing less than the complete reconstruction of society to bring it into harmony with the Social Christian exegesis of Christ's teachings.

The idea that the Christian ethic has a social as well as a personal relevance is as old as Christianity. It is doubtful, indeed, that anyone who lived before the era of the American and French revolutions could have understood the terms of a controversy over the social applicability of the Gospel. It was taken for granted by every believer that Christianity ought to permeate all human life. The only controversy was over the extent to which it had in fact done so. Most people were able to satisfy themselves with the assumption, illustrated in the Catechism's description of a Christian's duty to his neighbor, that the accepted morality of their time and class was Christian morality, but there were always some prophetic souls who rejected this view and demanded a more consistent application of the Master's precepts.

The Church-of-England and Roman-Catholic settlers in America

⁹⁹*New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1939, Feb. 19, 1940, May 27, 1941; *New York World-Telegram*, May 27, 1941.

included in their colonial codes many laws indicative of their belief that society ought to be governed by Christian ideals. The New England Puritans went even further and sought to found a definitely religious commonwealth, controlled by biblical laws. It is no disproof of their sincerity that the economic arrangements of their little Zion had a distinctly bourgeois tone.

The Quakers also sought to govern their colony in accordance with their religious ideals, though their belief in toleration compelled them to admit settlers who were not in sympathy with those ideals. They, too, for the most part, had a middle-class conception of Christian ethics, but some of them managed to arrive at a broader view. One eighteenth-century Friend, John Woolman, has been called the "John the Baptist of Socialism" because of his doctrine that want and spirit-crushing labor could both be eliminated if everyone would forego luxuries and work only so long as he had to to produce his share of necessities.¹⁰⁰

After the Revolution, the doctrine of the complete separation of church and state gained general acceptance throughout the United States, partly because it was in harmony with the liberal political ideals of the period, and partly because it represented the only practical means of keeping peace among the many sects into which the country was divided. By an extreme application of this principle, reenforced by the economic dogma of *laissez-faire*, and the Calvinist-Evangelical emphasis on "personal religion," it soon came to be held by nearly everybody that the churches and their ministers should restrict themselves to "religious" teaching, and should keep out of "politics." All social problems which did not clearly involve an issue of personal morality were included in the latter classification. The resulting attitude was strikingly expressed by one clergyman who, when shocked by an act of mob violence against some anti-slavery agitators, declared, "Such a revelation of the state of people's minds as this is enough to make one leave one's pulpit and set to work to mend society."¹⁰¹

The Christian advocates of abolition, temperance and pacifism did not, as a rule, disagree with this general view. They merely claimed exception for their particular reforms on the ground of their moral implications, but there were some dissenters. Here and there preachers and writers could be found who believed it their duty to discuss questions of social conduct, and even social organization, from a Christian point of view. Theirs were isolated voices, however. They exerted

¹⁰⁰Woolman, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-437.

¹⁰¹Martineau, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

little influence upon their contemporaries, and were generally ignorant of one another's work.¹⁰²

The program of Christian Socialism in England, where the modern movement first found expression, was drafted by Charles Kingsley and Frederick Maurice, behind drawn blinds in the former's study, while the Chartist mob of 1848 was raging through the streets of London.¹⁰³ This incident is symbolic of the whole history of Social Christianity. It was never so much a matter of the Christian Church's taking the lead in demanding social change as it was of the Church's catching up with demands which were already being made vociferously, and sometimes threateningly, by outsiders. The writings of the Social Christians abound in warnings that the Church is in danger of losing its moral leadership, and has already lost the allegiance of the working classes.¹⁰⁴ Though they were doubtless sincere in professing that their own social ideas were derived from the Gospel, the measures which they suggested nearly always showed the influence of reform and revolutionary programs which were not specifically Christian in character, and many of which were advocated by persons opposed to Christianity, though perhaps inspired more than they realized by Christian ideals.¹⁰⁵

The Episcopal Church accepted the doctrine of the separation of church and state as enthusiastically as any American denomination, since, as a weak religious minority, especially in the North, it saw in that dogma its chief defense against oppression. It also accepted for a long time the no-social-agitation corollary of this principle, and remained aloof from the great reform movements of the early nineteenth century, but it was among the first religious bodies in the United States to be influenced by the new demand for general social discussion in the pulpit. Its responsiveness to this challenge is explained partly by the English background of the Social Christian movement, and partly by the fact that that movement was, in its inception, and, for the most part, in its later de-

¹⁰²Orville Dewey, *Moral Views of Commerce, Society and Politics* (New York, 1838); Elihu Burritt, *The Learned Blacksmith* (New York, 1937), p. 31; Lewis Tappan, *Is It Right to Be Rich?* (New York n. d.); Stephen Colwell, *Politics for American Christians* (Philadelphia, 1852); Beriah Green, *Sermons and Other Discourses* (New York, 1860); G. W. Quimby, *The Gallows, the Prison and the Poor-House* (Cincinnati, 1860).

¹⁰³M. B. Reckitt, *Faith and Society* (London, 1932), pp. 82-83; C. K. Gloyn, *The Church in the Social Order* (Forest Grove, Ore., 1942), pp. 113-42.

¹⁰⁴Washington Gladden, *Applied Christianity* (Boston, 1886), pp. 146-79; James McCosh and others, *Problems of American Civilization* (New York, 1888), pp. 49-63; Charles Stelzle, *The Church and Labor* (Boston, 1910), pp. 1-33; C. R. Brown, *The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit* (New York, 1912), p. 3; E. S. Forbes, ed., *Social Ideals of a Free Church* (Boston, 1913), pp. 1-49.

¹⁰⁵For the most influential Social Christian essay, cf. Walter Rauschenbush, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York, 1907). For a scholarly presentation of its New Testament exegesis, cf. Shailer Mathews, *The Social Teachings of Jesus* (New York, 1897).

velopment, an effort of the privileged classes to aid the unprivileged, rather than of the unprivileged to aid themselves.

In 1862, when his jurisdiction was ravaged by an Indian war, Bishop Henry B. Whipple of Minnesota, one of the great missionaries of the Church, brought to the House of Bishops a petition reviewing the mistakes in the nation's Indian policy and asking the appointment of a commission to investigate it. The first bishop he asked to sign his memorial rebuked him sharply, saying, "I hope that you will not bring politics into the House." Bishop Alonzo Potter of Pennsylvania, seeing Bishop Whipple's distress at this reply, asked the cause of it. When told, he said, "My dear Minnesota, give me the paper. I will get it signed and will go to Washington with Bishop McIlvaine and present it."

As finally submitted, the petition contained the signatures of nineteen bishops, ten presbyters, and ten laymen.¹⁰⁶ It was a hint, though no more than that, of the Church's awakening realization of the inseparability of personal and social morality. A further hint was given at the first Church Congress in 1874, when a paper on the "Mutual Christian Obligations of Capital and Labor" was read by William D. Wilson, an Episcopal minister on the faculty of Cornell University.¹⁰⁷ In 1876 Richard Heber Newton, rector of All Soul's Church, New York City, published some parish lectures on *The Morals of Trade*. In the preface of this book, he boldly said:

"The curious warning off from all meddling with trade customs experienced in the preparation of materials for these lectures is probably the surest warrant for their utterance, assuming, as it must do, either that these customs of trade are beyond the application of ethical principles or beyond correction by them."¹⁰⁸

In 1880 J. H. Rylance delivered a series of lectures in St. Mark's Church, New York, in the course of which he endorsed cooperatives and labor unions.¹⁰⁹ In 1881, Edward A. Washburn, rector of Calvary Church, New York, published a series of sermons on the Ten Commandments under the title of *The Social Law of God*. He dismissed the idea that there was no "natural right" in private property as a "radical absurdity," but he condemned unhealthy working conditions, crowded

¹⁰⁶H. B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (New York, 1900), pp. 138-41.

¹⁰⁷Church Congress, *Authorized Report* (New York, 1875), pp. 52-63.

¹⁰⁸R. H. Newton, *The Morals of Trade* (New York, 1876), p. iii. Cf., also, his *Social Studies* (New York, 1887).

¹⁰⁹J. H. Rylance, *Lectures on Social Questions* (New York, 1880), pp. 7-36, 70-103.

tenements, child labor, adulterated foods, and false advertising.¹¹⁰ In 1889 a layman of the Church, Richard T. Ely, on the faculty of Johns Hopkins University, brought out a series of essays on the *Social Aspects of Christianity* more radical in tone than the preceding works.¹¹¹ Two years later Philo W. Sprague, rector of St. John's Church, Charlestown, Massachusetts, wrote a book in which he espoused Christian Socialism without any reservation.¹¹² A periodical devoted to the cause, called *Dawn*, edited by W. D. P. Bliss, rector of the Church of the Carpenter, Boston, had been started a few years earlier.¹¹³

The movement found organized expression in 1887 with the formation of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, familiarly known as CAIL. Its establishment had been suggested by Mr. Bliss, but the most active worker in the enterprise was James O. S. Huntington, founder of the Order of the Holy Cross, and a former single-tax advocate. Its first president was Father Huntington's father, Bishop Frederick Dan Huntington of Central New York.¹¹⁴

Its second president, Bishop Henry Codman Potter of New York, was one of the most prominent ecclesiastical figures of his day. His views on economic questions were conservative and not particularly well-informed,¹¹⁵ but his support of the right of labor to organize, then a controversial issue, and his success in arbitrating strikes gave him a certain prestige in radical circles, though this prestige suffered a decline when newspaper accounts of a robbery revealed the fact that his wife was the owner of \$50,000 worth of jewels.¹¹⁶

In 1891 the Christian Social Union was formed, under Bishop Huntington's presidency, to study social problems from a broader view than that of CAIL.¹¹⁷ It continued until 1911, when it was disbanded after the appointment of a permanent secretary of the commission of social service had made social study a concern of the whole Church.¹¹⁸ In that same year a more radical body, the Church Socialist League, was

¹¹⁰E. A. Washburn, *The Social Law of God* (New York, 1881), pp. 121, 151, 161-62.

¹¹¹R. T. Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity* (New York, 1889).

¹¹²P. W. Sprague, *Christian Socialism* (New York, 1891).

¹¹³Spencer Miller and J. F. Fletcher, *The Church and Industry* (New York, 1930), p. 53.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 52-74; A. S. Huntington, *Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington* (Boston, 1906), pp. 352-59.

¹¹⁵H. C. Potter, *The Citizen in His Relation to the Industrial Situation* (New York, 1902); George Hodges, *Henry Codman Potter* (New York, 1915).

¹¹⁶Upton Sinclair, *American Outpost* (New York, 1932), p. 141.

¹¹⁷Church Social Union, *Publications* (Boston, 1895), Ser. A., No. 6, pp. 3-4; Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

¹¹⁸Miller and Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

founded under the leadership of Bernard Iddings Bell, later president of St. Stephen's (now Bard) College, and Frank Spencer Spaulding, bishop of Utah, who had startled a pan-American congress, three years earlier, by proclaiming himself a Marxian Socialist.¹¹⁹ Its activities had just gotten well under way when it was broken up by the hysteria of the First World War. One of its last official acts was the defense of its then president, Bishop Jones, whose ousting for pacifist activities has already been noted.¹²⁰ Its work was revived in 1919 by the formation of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, which still continues to carry on an active propaganda.¹²¹

The increasing interest of Episcopalians in social questions eventually made itself felt in General Convention. Its first effect was the adoption of the previously mentioned resolution in favor of international arbitration. In 1901 a committee on the relations of capital and labor was appointed, to study the aims of the labor movement, investigate particular disputes, and act as arbiter if requested.¹²² In 1910 this was renamed the Committee on Social Service.¹²³ When the work of the Church was reorganized under the Presiding Bishop and Council in 1922 the committee became a department.¹²⁴

Besides setting up this commission, General Convention showed itself increasingly disposed to pass resolutions on almost any subject that was presented to it. Among those adopted were pronouncements against municipal corruption,¹²⁵ child labor,¹²⁶ the opium traffic, marriage of the unfit, mob violence, and Turkish atrocities,¹²⁷ and in favor of trade rights for the Philippines,¹²⁸ one day's rest in seven, social justice,¹²⁹ the cultivation of the spirit of partnership between capital and labor, the cooperative movement,¹³⁰ kindness to animals, and the Near East Relief.¹³¹

As Social Christianity is a movement that is still in progress, any estimate of its achievements must be tentative. In one respect it has won an almost complete victory. The right of the Church and its servants to discuss social problems is now generally conceded. Here

¹¹⁹Reckitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98.

¹²⁰Miller and Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

¹²²General Convention, *Journal*, 1901 (New York, 1902), pp. 192, 271.

¹²³General Convention, *Journal*, 1910 (New York, 1910), pp. 344-45.

¹²⁴General Convention, *Journal*, 1922 (New York, 1923), pp. 692-95.

¹²⁵General Convention, *Journal*, 1901, pp. 212, 236, 305.

¹²⁶General Convention, *Journal*, 1913 (New York, 1914), p. 333.

¹²⁷General Convention, *Journal*, 1922, pp. 271, 309, 337-39.

¹²⁸General Convention, *Journal*, 1907 (New York, 1907), pp. 390, 392, 191.

¹²⁹General Convention, *Journal*, 1913, pp. 308-9, 221.

¹³⁰General Convention, *Journal*, 1919, pp. 82, 162.

¹³¹General Convention, *Journal*, 1922, pp. 311, 338, 356.

and there a conservative may still decry "politics in the pulpit," but the complaint is usually uttered in a tone which betrays a conviction that it will not be heeded. Many conservatives have adopted the view that it is proper for preachers to discuss public questions if they take the right side. In recent years the author has received circular letters from sources which were certainly not radical urging him to preach on such diverse topics as the integrity of the Supreme Court, the merits of life insurance, and the iniquity of taxing oleomargarine. The National Association of Manufacturers employs special contact men to cultivate the goodwill of the clergy.¹³²

It is difficult to estimate the effect of all this discussion in modifying social attitudes. Now and then a liberal or radical leader appears, like the present vice-president of the United States, whose thinking has been directly influenced by Christian teaching,¹³³ but most such figures, even when they are church members, derive their economic and political ideas from sources not specifically religious.

In its effort to win the working classes back to the Faith, Social Christianity has not, so far, been successful. The majority of laborers are still unchurched, and those who have religious affiliations do not show any preference for denominations which are distinguished for their liberal social teaching. It is probable, indeed, that the movement had a greater appeal to the proletariat in its early days, when it was concerned chiefly with defending the right of labor unions to exist, than it has today, for the American worker has always shown more interest in efforts to secure immediate improvement in his hours, wages, and working conditions than in long-term economic reforms.

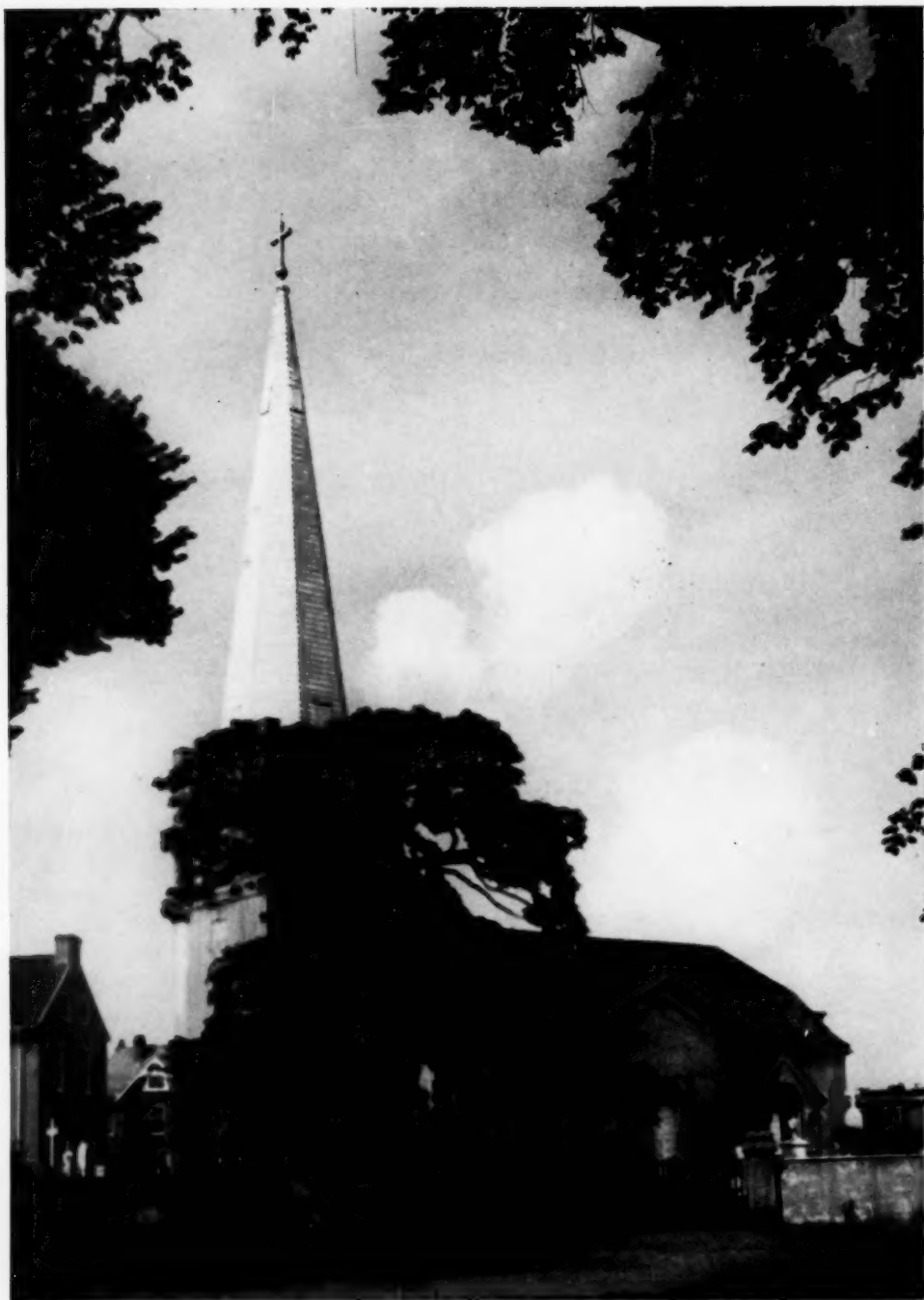
¹³²*The Witness* (New York, 1942), Vol. XXVI, No. 23, p. 11.

¹³³H. A. Wallace, *Statesmanship and Religion* (New York, 1934).

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**HISTORIC IMMANUEL CHURCH
ON-THE-GREEN
NEW CASTLE, DELAWARE**

The Nave of the present Church is the original building erected in 1703

From an original photograph by Andreie E. P. Anderson

HISTORIC PARISHES—
IMMANUEL CHURCH, NEW CASTLE, DELAWARE

I. THE FOUNDING AND SOME OF THE FOUNDERS

II. THREE NOTABLE WOMEN

*By Richard S. Rodney**

I. THE FOUNDING AND SOME OF THE FOUNDERS

THE early religious history of New Castle, Delaware, was Dutch. It is well known that the Dutch had a church here before the coming of the English. It is recorded:

“The first inhabitants of this place were Dutch—a colony from New York and of the Church of Holland. They built a small wooden church, where a minister of their own, and sometimes a reader, officiated in their several capacities. But when the town was surrendered to the English, and the Dutch remained unsupplied with a preacher, the said chapel was neglected and at length tumbled down.”

In December, 1677, just two hundred and sixty-six years ago, the Reverend John Yeo of Patuxent River, Maryland, came to New Castle. He was, so far as any records show, the first Church of England clergyman in Delaware. A little over eighteen months previously (May 25, 1676), he had written a long and very illuminating letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, setting forth the religious condition of Maryland in general and that of the Church of England in particular.¹ It is certain that Mr. Yeo officiated in a church, which was probably the old Dutch church, for in the court records is the distinct reference to Mr. Yeo's remarks to the congregation “in ye Church.” It is equally certain from the court records that on November

*The Hon. Richard S. Rodney is associate judge of the Supreme Court of the State of Delaware, senior warden of Immanuel Church, New Castle, chancellor of the diocese of Delaware, and president of the Historical Society of Delaware.—*Editor's note.*

¹This letter in full may be found in James S. M. Anderson, *The History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, London, 1856, Volume II, pp. 395-396; also, in William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church*, Boston, 1885, Vol. I, p. 134.

5, 1678, the church, as the records state, "doth very much want reparation." On January 7, 1679, one Thomas Harwood made a free gift towards the repairing of the old or building of a new church within the Town of New Castle in the amount of a judgment by him that day obtained against Jacob Van de Veer.

In 1679 the last Dutch minister, Mr. Tasschenmaker, was sent to New Castle and remained until 1689. The decline of the Dutch church, and the disrepair into which it had fallen, the leaving of the Dutch minister in 1689, and the increasing number of English immigrants whose number had been steadily augmented since the English jurisdiction had become complete, were all certainly potent and important factors in the foundation and establishment of the English Church.

THE FOUNDING

A tablet on the outer wall of Immanuel Church has announced to succeeding generations that the parish was founded in 1689. At this time no church was built, but we believe that the date was not arrived at by conjecture. On December 10, 1688, James II received unsatisfactory answers to his overtures to William of Orange, and at 3 A. M. of December 11th, James fled in a small boat to Gravesend and abdicated the throne of England. On February 13, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed as sovereigns of England and the Act of Toleration established religious liberty. This revolution, which saved the Church of England from papal supremacy and guaranteed freedom to all Protestants, quickened the zeal of Anglicans; and, coupled with the departure of the Dutch minister, which left the community without religious ministrations, tends to confirm the date. Moreover, when we consider that in 1820 when the stone was erected, there were probably among the older ones, men who had actually known and talked with those who formed the parish, it seems likely that a fact was inscribed upon our marble tablet and not an inconclusive date.

It is not hard to account for the particular location of the church. It is well known and susceptible of indubitable proof that after the decay and destruction of Fort Casimir, the beginning of New Castle, one of several succeeding forts or block houses was erected precisely on the spot where this church stands today. Not only does secular history show this, but the Rev. Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia, says in October, 1704,

"The Church is built on a plot of ground where formerly was a Fort which we suppose may belong to the Crown, but is now claimed by Mr. Penn, proprietor; it is large enough for a

Minister's house and school house and the inhabitants petition that her majesty may be solicited to confirm this land to the use aforesaid."

On March 1, 1727, the Rev. George Ross says,

"In the middle of the Town lies a spacious Green, in form of a square, in a corner whereof stood formerly a fort and on the ground whereon the said citadel was built, they agreed to erect their church, from a persuasion that, as it belonged to their sovereign, it was not in the power of any of their troublesome neighbors to disturb them in their commendable undertaking."

The ground itself was not vested in the parish nor in any one for them until an act of the provincial assembly was passed, June 13, 1772.

There is a slight discrepancy as to the exact time of the erection of the church building itself. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.), dated March 1, 1727, George Ross, the first resident missionary, gives August 11, 1703, as the date of the commencement of the work and 1706 as the date of completion. George Keith, during his famous missionary tour for the S. P. G., under date of August 1, 1703, says that he preached at New Castle where they have a church "lately built"; and the Rev. John Talbot, Keith's companion, under date of May 3, 1703, says the work of building is in progress. James Logan, writing to Penn on April 14, 1703, in speaking of Governor Nicholson of Virginia who had recently visited New Castle and who was a devoted Anglican Churchman, states,

"He has encouraged them as it is reported to build a church at New Castle, on the Green, and promises to procure confirmation of it from Queen Anne."

At a meeting of the clergy of the three middle colonies held in New York in October, 1704, the Rev. Mr. Evan Evans, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and commissary of the bishop of London, reported as to New Castle that "a fair church of brick is building, the windows set in and likewise to be covered before winter." In his *The State of the Church in Pennsylvania*,² dated London, September 18, 1707, Mr. Evans reported to the S. P. G.:

²For this report in full, see William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, Volume II (Pennsylvania), pp. 32-39. The above quotation is on page 36.

"There is a large and fair structure, built for Divine Worship, att New Castle, 40 miles from Philadelphia, finished within and without, where I preach't the Beginning of December last [1706] and found a considerable Congregation, considering y^e Generality of the People was gained over from other Persuasions, their Minister the Rev^d M^r George Ross is esteemed a Person that is Ingenious & well learned as well as sober & Prudent, and I doubt not but by the blessing of God upon his good endeavours, the Church of Newcastle will continue to encrease."

On July 19, 1708, Mr. Ross reported:

"The Church is quite finished, by the unwearied diligence and liberal contributions of several gentlemen in the place, particularly Mr. Richard Hollywell, Mr. Jasper Yeates and Mr. James Coutes, men of good note. It is a fair and stately building, and one of the largest in this government, and what contributes very much to its beauty, it is adorned with her majesty's bounty as well as other churches in these parts, a fair pulpit cloth and communion table cloth."

The quality of the original construction was apparently not all that could have been desired. For, according to the report of the clergy of Pennsylvania to the Venerable Society, dated Chichester, near Chester, October 24, 1723, which report Ross signed:

"The house of God in that place [New Castle] through the unskilfulness or carelessness of the first builders was nigh coming to the ground but now is in a way of being thoroughly repaired by the vigilance of the Incumbent and will prove fairer and more commodious than heretofore it hath been."³

The nave of the church building of the present day is the original building erected in 1703. The old square pews were removed, and the tower and transepts added in 1820, since which time, except for the deepening of the transepts, the building has remained in the form in which it today is found.

We do not venerate the building merely as a building. Without remembering the use to which it has been put, it remains but a shell of brick and mortar. People have not come from far and wide merely to see the ground on which their loved ones trod. Is not the underlying thought the same as held by the late Thomas Holcomb, than whom Inmanuel Church has had no more ardent lover, as he wrote:

³Perry, *ibid*, II., p. 131.

"I think of the long line of holy men who have here preached the Gospel of Peace: of the many weary and heavy laden who have here in prayer and meditation laid their burdens at the feet of Christ: of those now sleeping in the churchyard, whose sweet voices in anthem and in hymn have echoed from these walls: of the loving fathers and mothers who in all these years have brought their little ones and placed them in the arms of the good priest to be signed with the sign of the Cross. Many times, too, these walls have heard the glad sounds of wedding music, when, at the chancel rail, the strong man and tender maiden have plighted their troth and walked out into the world filled with

A thousand restless hopes and fears
Forth reaching to the coming years.

And then of the many, many aching and bleeding hearts who have here given up their dead."

SOME OF THE FOUNDERS

The names of the known and recorded donors to the erection of Immanuel Church in the opening years of the eighteenth century number forty-four. It is on record that "the charitable contributions of several gentlemen in Pennsylvania as well as the large collections of inhabitants of New Castle—not only Churchmen but Presbyterians" made the building of Immanuel Church possible.

Out of this list we might have selected William Trent, from whom Trenton obtained its name; or Colonel John French, that man of towering authority all his life, who, Samuel Preston says, was "clothed with more titles than I know how to name, but amounting to the governor's vice-regent or representative at New Castle," and at the burning of whose house we sustained such loss when many of the public records prior to 1720 were consumed; or Robert Quarry, the stormy petrel of colonial times, whose meteoric career is filled with deepest interest, and who was a member of the councils of five governments at one time—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and again the governor of South Carolina.

But out of the whole list I have decided to select the following as typifying the loyal hearts which burned with a zeal for Christ and His cause, who amid untold and unimaginable hardships and privations gave us the precious heritage where their spiritual descendants worship today: the Rev. George Ross and four laymen—Jasper Yeates, James Coutts, Robert French and Richard Halliwell—"men of good note," as Ross characterized Yeates, Coutts and Halliwell.

THE REVEREND GEORGE ROSS (1679-1754)⁴

George Ross was born in Balblair, Rosshire, Scotland, the second son of David Ross. Graduating from the University of Edinburgh in 1700, he became a tutor to the son of the Earl of May, at ten pounds sterling a year—"great wages in that part of the world." He soon entered the university again as a student of divinity, expecting to become a Presbyterian minister, but his studies made him a convinced Anglican. He, therefore, went to London with the recommendation of the bishop of Edinburgh and others, and was there ordained in the Church of England. He was given a chaplaincy on board a man-of-war, which he disliked very much. Returning to London, he applied to the recently founded Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was accepted and assigned to New Castle as their missionary.

Ross remained in New Castle from 1703 until his death in 1754, except for a period of some six years (1708-1714), when he occupied the cure at Chester. His going to Chester was the cause of considerable difficulty and he returned to London to lay the facts before the bishop of London and the Society. On his return to America his ship was captured by a French man-of-war, February 9, 1711, and taken to Brest where, he said:

"I, as well as others, was Strip't of all my Cloaths from the Crown of my head to the Sole of my feet; in a word I was left as Naked as I was born : . . ."

His journey afterwards from Brest to Dinant "brought me near Death's door," but he eventually secured his release and reached Chester again.

At the time of Ross' removal to Chester, which he had done without the Society's consent, the Rev. John Talbot had called him a "wandering star." In 1714 he was re-appointed to New Castle where he remained for forty years; and this added to the first five years of his service there, made a ministry of forty-five years. Even Talbot must have admitted to himself before his own death in 1727 that the characterization could no longer with justice be applied to Ross.

George Ross was the founder of a family which has contributed richly to American life and institutions. He was twice married: first to Joanna Williams of Rhode Island, by whom he had six children. She died September 29, 1726, at the age of thirty-six. His second wife was Catherine Van Gezel of New Castle, and of this union seven children were born.

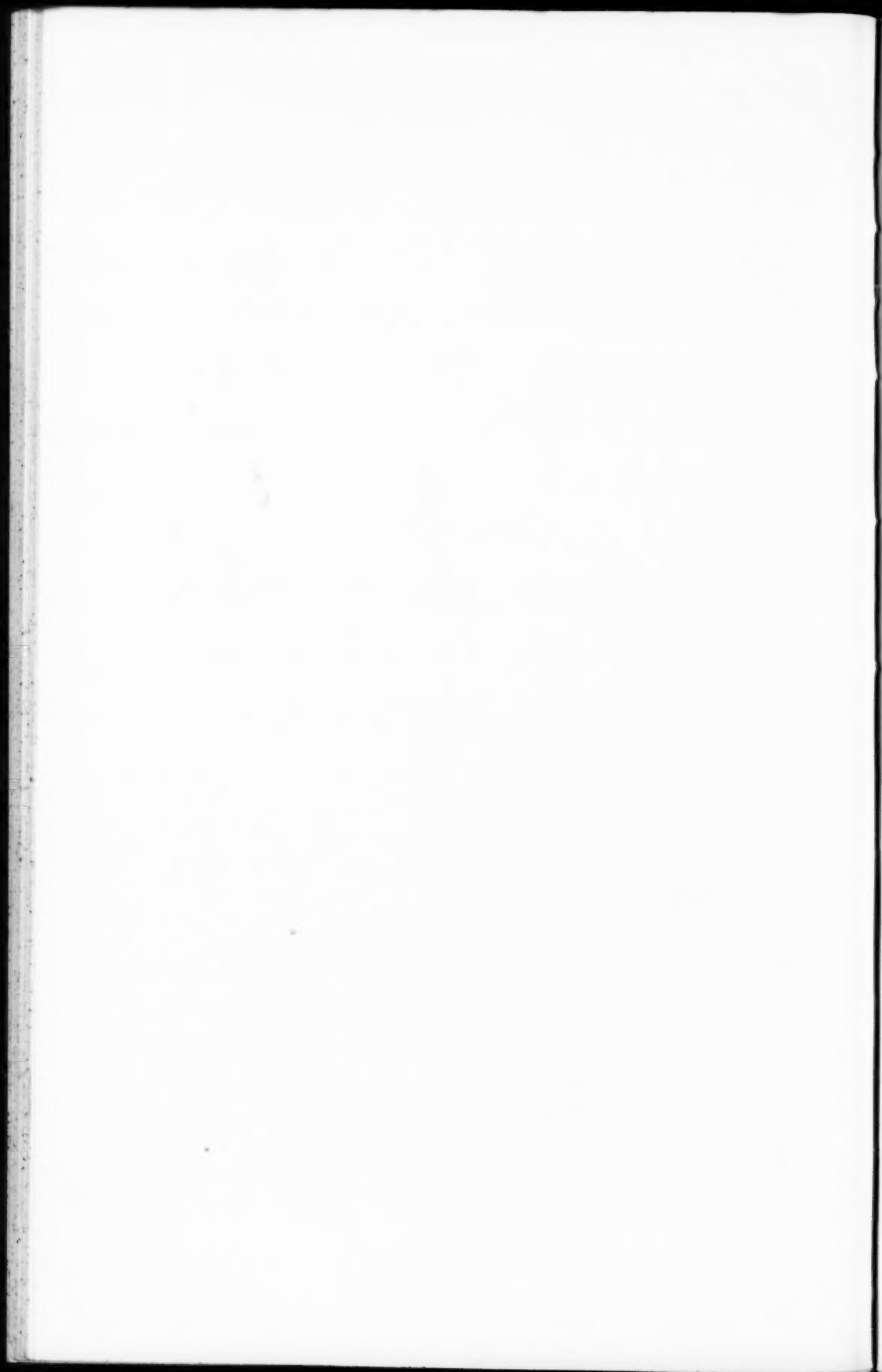
⁴For a fuller biography, see Edgar L. Pennington, "The Reverend George Ross", in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1936, p. 34.



THE REVEREND GEORGE ROSS
1679-1754

FIRST RESIDENTIAL S. P. G. MISSIONARY IN DELAWARE:
NEW CASTLE, 1703-1708
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1708-1714
NEW CASTLE, 1714-1754

The original portrait is owned by the Honorable Richard S. Rodney of New Castle



The Rev. Aeneas Ross (c. 1715-c. 1782) became his father's successor in New Castle from 1757 until his death. It was Aeneas' daughter-in-law, Betsy (Griscom) Ross (1752-1836), who became celebrated in connection with the making of the Stars and Stripes.

John Ross, another son of the Rev. George Ross, became a leading lawyer in Philadelphia. George Ross, Jr. (1730-1779) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence as a Pennsylvania delegate.

Gertrude Ross, daughter of New Castle's first rector, married George Read (1733-1798), who was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a United States senator (1789-1793) from Delaware.

Representatives of the Ross family have lived in New Castle since 1703 and descendants in the seventh generation still worship in Immanuel Church.

The letters of George Ross to the S. B. G. in London teem with information about the then infant church in New Castle and furnish illuminating material on colonial history. We shall close this sketch of his life with an extract from the last letter he wrote to the Society, dated New Castle, October 13, 1752:

"I am at this time upon the verge of Extreme old age, being, according to my own computation, in the 73rd year of my life, and the 47 of my mission. Hence some imagine that I am not only the oldest missionary, but the oldest man in the mission. Be that as it will, I have been very often exercised for 2 years past with those maladies and infirmities which are commonly incident to my present stage of life. This, to my no small mortification, interrupted my former correspondence with you, and perhaps exposed me to the charge of negligence. . . . As I am in a tottering condition, this may happen to be my last to you. If this should be the case, I beg this may transmit my most hearty acknowledgments to the Hon^{ble} Society for their innumerable favours conferr'd upon me in the course of a long mission. . . . I cannot clear myself from oversights & mistakes in the course of so many years, but thank God, he has been pleased in his great goodness, to preserve me from such blots and stains as would do harm to the cause I was engaged to maintain,—the Honor, I mean, and interest of the Church of England, from which I never varied from the day I wrote man."

Mr. Ross did not long survive this letter. The Society, in its Abstract for 1754, after quoting from the above last letter, added:

"And it hath lately pleased God to call to Himself this worthy Servant to receive the Reward of his pious Labours."

JASPER YEATES

Jasper Yeates was a native of Yorkshire in England who emigrated to the West Indies and afterwards settled here as a merchant on the banks of the Delaware. A man of strong intellect and sterling character, his early activities were divided between Philadelphia, Chester and New Castle. He seems to have been an ardent Churchman. He was in turn one of the original members and earliest vestrymen of Christ Church, Philadelphia, a chief promoter of the building of the church in Chester, and a founder and liberal subscriber toward the building of Immanuel Church.

Possessing some knowledge of the law, Mr. Yeates was first a judge of the county court at Chester, and afterwards and until his death an associate justice of the supreme court of the province of Pennsylvania and of the lower counties (New Castle, Kent, and Sussex) on the Delaware.

His political activities seem to have been very considerable. Frequently a member of the governor's council and almost continuously either in council or assembly, he seems to have been a thorn in the flesh of the proprietor, William Penn, and to have worked diligently to bring about the separation of Delaware from Pennsylvania. In some contemporaneous correspondence, in speaking of the relations of the province of Pennsylvania to the three lower counties, it is said:

"Formerly they had been strictly united but . . . Jasper Yeates principally with Robert French and Richard Halliwell, by their obstinacy, caused a separation in the business of legislation."

In 1691 Penn had appointed a special deputy governor for the "lower counties"; in 1693 they were reunited with the "province" of Pennsylvania; but they secured a separate legislature in 1704, and a separate executive council in 1710; the governor of Pennsylvania remaining, however, as the chief executive until 1776.

Yeates moved to New Castle, where he lived and died in 1720, full of years and honors. He was a worthy man, truly a man of note, to whom we are much indebted.

ROBERT FRENCH

Much that has been told of Jasper Ycates applies with equal force to Robert French. They married sisters and both were gentlemen of influence and prominence in the government of the three lower counties. Robert French was a native of Scotland and a merchant pos-

sessed of numerous large tracts of land, both in New Castle and in Kent counties. One of the first references to him is a letter containing information about several pirates hovering around New Castle, requesting their apprehension, and signed: "Your loving friend, William Penn."

Mr. French occupied for a time the position of associate judge of the provincial court and was on several occasions a member of the provincial council and a member and speaker of the House of Assembly.

On July 29, 1703, the Rev. George Keith records in his diary: "We came to New Castle, by Delaware River and were kindly entertained at the house of Mr. Robert French some days." He lived on the Strand in the house subsequently occupied by George Read, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who married Gertrude, the daughter of the Rev. George Ross. The house was in the present garden of Mr. and Mrs. Philip D. Laird, and was destroyed in the great fire of 1824.

Robert French died in Philadelphia, September 8, 1713, and was buried in St. Paul's Church, Chester. In his earlier life he was a violent opponent of Penn and was an influential factor in the separation from Pennsylvania. In later life he became more friendly to Penn, for Logan writes on the day following his death:

"Robert French is this day carried from hence to be buried. He has been long ill and died here last night. His death will be a loss to us, for though once he was very troublesome yet, like William Rodney, before his decease his heart seemed turned and he appeared a cordial well wisher to Thee and Thy interest."

Martin in his history of Chester says that "the tombstone of Robert French was an ordinary slab of syenite six feet long and three and one-half feet wide, and is made the stepping stone from the front gateway of the present Church Edifice." In his lifetime Mr. French by his exertions in building Immanuel Church was a potent factor in providing opportunities for divine service. Even in his death his very tombstone furnished the means for countless throngs to enter into the courts of praise.

JAMES COUTTS

James Coutts is one to whom history has not been generous. When he came to New Castle I do not know. It is certain, however, that he and his brother, Hercules Coutts, whose sandstone tablet is affixed to the rear of our church, were merchants here in New Castle. Hercules

died in 1707, and James was his heir. Both James and Hercules Coutts came from Montrose in Scotland, and thither James returned prior to 1730, leaving his son Hercules a resident of these colonies.

James Coutts seems to have occupied a peculiarly prominent place in public affairs. He was frequently a member of assembly and its speaker. In fact, one authority credits him with wielding supreme influence in these three lower counties. His brother, Hercules, too, we learn from his tombstone, "held many trusts, civil as well as military."

RICHARD HALLIWELL

As George Ross was the first rector of Immanuel Church, so Richard Halliwell was the first warden. Their memorials today face each other in the nave of the church as their personalities, clothed in flesh and blood, faced each other in the very same nave on many an interesting occasion.

Little is known of Richard Halliwell's early life, but it seems extremely probable that he came from Baldbeard Hamlet in the parish of Glossop in the county of Derby, England, for such was the residence of his brother, Thomas Halliwell. The precise year he came to New Castle I do not know, but he was sheriff of New Castle county in 1690. That he was a merchant is sure, and that he accumulated a competence and was a man of the highest standing, is certain from every source of knowledge of his activities. A member of the council of Penn, frequently a member of the colonial assembly, he was a member of that brave group of representatives from these three lower counties on the Delaware whose courageous stand in seceding from the legislative union with Pennsylvania first established as a separate entity the present state of Delaware.

James Logan was secretary to William Penn and his letters contain much of political interest. Halliwell was one of the signers of a protest in 1691 which determined the proprietor to give to the three lower counties a separate governor, while as yet the legislative union had not been dissolved. In 1701 Logan mentions a dinner he considered it necessary to give for political reasons. His guests, in addition to the governor, were Richard Halliwell, Jasper Yeates, and some dozen others. After the dissolution (1704) of the legislative union with the counties of Pennsylvania, the two jurisdictions had a governor in common. In 1708 the representatives of the three lower counties sought an entire and complete separation from Pennsylvania, and formulated an address to the lords of trade in England looking to this end. Logan wrote to Penn:

"Particularly they complain that under thy jurisdiction they have no sufficient power to enact laws for the public good, that they are left naked and defenseless in this time of war and that they have no Provincial Courts among them for these seven years past and this is signed by nine members of which James Coutts, Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell and Robert French are the leaders."

Is it not noteworthy that each individual particularly named by Logan as a leader in the public affairs, is also included in the roll of founders of Immanuel parish? They did not obtain a complete separation, but in 1710 they were granted a separate executive council. But enough of Halliwell's connection with political affairs; it is his association with Immanuel parish with which we are primarily concerned. Assuredly sufficient has been shown to justify the assertion of his rector, and indelibly preserved upon the enduring marble, "that in his day he signalized himself in the defence and support of his Country."

It is not difficult to picture this staunch English Churchman, transplanted to this newly settled country, wistfully recalling the peaceful church and churchyard of his native English village, thinking of all they meant in his native place, and of their having been the center and inspiration of the lives of generation after generation of his own people. We can easily imagine the desire of such a man to reproduce in the new land of his adoption the soul-satisfying features of his old home. Do not these thoughts account for the fact that our earliest preserved records show Richard Halliwell in 1710 the first warden of this Church, and continuously a warden and vestryman until his death? His name appears upon the list of founders with the largest subscription save one, that of Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia. It is also certain that he advanced in the building of the church an additional sum, three times the amount of his already large subscription, which sum was never repaid to him. Clearly the Church records show that preeminently "he signalized himself . . . in the support of his Church" whenever occasion arose.

And when at last his span of life was run, what were his chief thoughts as expressed in his will? Shakespeare makes Mark Antony say of Caesar's will,

'Tis good you know not that you are his heirs;
For, if you should, O, what would come of it!

But what of Halliwell's will? 'Tis good you should know of it, and remember every thought, for under it his chief heirs you are:

"In the Name of God, Amen. I Richard Halliwell of the County of New Castle upon Delaware, merchant, being of sound and perfect sense and memory, but knowing that it is appointed for all men once to dye, and considering how frail and uncertain human nature is, do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following: *Imprimis*, first and principally, I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it, hoping through the merits of my Blessed Saviour Christ Jesus to obtain full pardon and remission for all my sins and as to what worldly substance it hath pleased God to bless me here on earth I give and bequeath as follows:

"Item: I give and bequeath unto Emmanuel Church standing upon the Green in the Town of New Castle the sum of 60 pounds it being due to me therefrom (over and above my subscription) toward the building thereof.

"Item: I also give and bequeath all my marsh and plantation situated near the Broad Dyke in the Town of New Castle aforesaid containing and laid out for sixty-seven acres of land and marsh, together with all the houses, orchards and other improvements thereunto belonging to the proper use and behoof of the minister that from time to time shall serve the said Emmanuel Church forever.⁵

"Item: I give and bequeath the Pall which I bought to cover my corpse to the use of Emmanuel Church as the Minister and Church Wardens shall think fit."

This last may seem an insignificant trifle. I am not disposed so to consider it. The pall was then in general use in the established Church of England. From thence he probably had it brought. Its office was to cover the rough and untrimmed casket of those days. I am not sure but that the thought that rich and poor alike, without regard to station, might make its last journey to church and grave with nothing to distinguish between the two, may not have so appealed to this great man as to make this seemingly humble provision of his will a most important one.

Additional pages might be written on Halliwell's public and private life, but enough have been taken to show the justice of the inscription of his memorial. George Ross was Richard Halliwell's rector; he was assuredly the friend of his mature years; he was the executor of his will. George Ross knew whereof he spoke when he wrote after Halliwell's death that

"Captain Richard Halliwell in his day signalized himself in the defense and support of his Church and Country and who

⁵This is the glebe farm which Immanuel Church holds today after the passage of 224 years.

next to the Honorable Society is justly accounted the prime Patron of Emmanuel Church at New Castle."

CONCLUSION

Memories, traditions, and visions crowd around these old walls. For nearly two hundred and fifty years generation after generation has arisen, passed for a time along the fretful stage of life, and then as quietly as the silent leaf falls from the autumn tree, has been gathered to its fathers. Each generation in its brief allotted span, and in its order, has caught the torch from the preceding one, and has taken this old Church and fitly kept it. And so into our hands it comes.

May we not pledge to the memories of those who have gone before, to ourselves, and to the countless generations yet to come, that the torch of service and of care of this old mother Church shall never cease to shine in all its accustomed glory? In concluding, allow me to paraphrase a deservedly popular refrain:

Fear not that ye did strive for naught,
The torch ye threw to us—we caught;
Countless hands will hold it high,
Immanuel's light shall never die;
We've learned the lesson that ye taught
In this old Church.

II. THREE NOTABLE WOMEN---A MOTHER, A DAUGHTER, AND A GRANDDAUGHTER

No less distinguished than their brilliant consorts were the wives of the men whom history honors. Little known, unhonored and unsung, the helpful careers of the wives of the founders remain in deathless form in the record of those with whom they lived, and in the impress made upon the character of those they nurtured. Our own and the universal experience of all mankind leads us to know beyond a doubt that in each succeeding era of this church, from its foundation to the present day, the quiet, unostentatious, but willing and effective activities of the women have made possible the preservation of Immanuel Church, as of many others. While largely unrecorded on pages written by human hands, who doubts that on the pages of the Eternal Book of Life their names and services are recorded?

Of the Marys and the Marthas of the race who have, by precept and example, kept alive the true ideals of the Christian faith, I have

selected three women—mother, daughter, and granddaughter—as illustrative of the vanished host who have worshipped and served in Immanuel Church.

THE MOTHER: *GERTRUDE (REYNIER) VAN GEZEL*

On May 9, 1688, Jacob Van Gezel of New Amstel was married in the Dutch Reformed Church in New York to Gertrude Reynier. As far as Jacob is concerned, it needs no great stretch of imagination to know that six years previously, in 1682, as a boy or young man, he had been an interested spectator in New Castle at the unusual ceremony when William Penn received the turf and twig and soil and water as symbolic of the change of jurisdiction and of the government under which he would live. But mark the date of the marriage—1688. The young Dutch girl of New York came as a bride to New Castle at about the time the last Dutch minister was leaving, never to return; the Presbyterians had not yet come; and the sole religious ministrations came from the visiting clergy of the Church of England, such as the Rev. John Yeo of Maryland. There can be but little doubt that this young bride, Gertrude Van Gezel, was an active participant in the founding of Immanuel parish in 1689.

On October 20, 1689, over 250 years ago, Gertrude Van Gezel had her eldest child, Anna Catharine, baptized in that same church in New York in which she herself had become a bride some seventeen months before. Little did the mother realize that her child would become so intimately connected with Immanuel Church as the wife of the first rector. Gertrude Van Gezel had three other children: Cornelius; John, who was a vestryman and warden of this church, and who lived to be a hundred years of age; and Reynier, named apparently for his mother's family.

I do not know when Gertrude died, but she was living in 1730, and as she saw her daughter the rector's wife and her son a warden and vestryman of Immanuel Church, her interest and love for it may be assumed. She lived her allotted span, and her ashes probably rest, unmarked and unrecorded, in the churchyard.

THE DAUGHTER: *CATHARINE (VAN GEZEL) ROSS*

Catharine Van Gezel spent her girlhood in New Castle. She was thirteen years of age when this church was building. The old Dutch church had gone, and such was the smallness of the village and so unusual the character of the new building (possibly the first church

she had ever seen), she may have watched each brick in the building which is still the nave of the church. With fancy's eye we can see her clearly as she left her quaint little home on the Strand facing the river. There were then no houses on the river side of the street, for almost in that very year the grants of these so-called Bank Lots were first made. We can see this young girl as she made her way to the corner of Harte or Mary Street (which we now call Harmony), then past the fine brick house where Sir Francis Lovelace, the late governor, had lived (near where the old icehouse recently stood), and see her as she approached this new church, measuring its progress since her last visit.

We can picture the scene on a quiet summer afternoon when the report was spread that a full-rigged ship under full sail approached the town. Catharine and almost all of the other inhabitants of the then small village, press to the sandy shore which then constituted the waterfront, while the ship dropped its anchor off the town. When the boats were lowered and the weary passengers, cramped from their long journey and exhausted in their battle with the elements, came on shore, Catharine saw for the first time the stalwart young Scottish priest, George Ross, then twenty-four years old, who had come as the first missionary to the new church in New Castle of which she was a member. Little could she then realize that she would some day be his wife.

Then there were political events which she saw in this old town and almost in the shadow of the church. She saw, of course, William Penn on many of his visits to New Castle with the gentlemen of his council. She saw and possibly attended the meetings of the colonial assembly. She took part in the great fair held in the Green or Market Plaine, which had existed as a place for markets from the beginning of our history. She saw the river filled with strange craft, manned by strange people and trading with the strange places of the world, for New Castle was then the Gravesend of the New World and important passengers from Philadelphia saved the tortuous river trip and joined the ships at New Castle, where the boats took on water for their long and foreign trips. She heard from her elders of the political discord in the assembly in Philadelphia and of the withdrawal of the members from Delaware. She saw a new election in the Green, and the subsequent meeting in New Castle of this first assembly for these "three lower counties" (New Castle, Kent, and Sussex) in October, 1704, which established these counties as a separate entity and assured the present existence of Delaware as a separate and independent state.

Catharine Van Gezel saw each colonial governor in his turn—

Markham, John Evans, Colonel Gookin, and that most picturesque figure of them all, Sir William Keith. She saw Governor Gookin, who was also a vestryman of this parish, present to this church a piece of plate which today we prize so highly, and from it she probably received her communion on the day it was first used. But we must pass hurriedly many interesting things she saw and heard when the town and the church were young, and come to one of the most spectacular events in the history of the town.

May 28, 1724, was King George I's birthday,⁶ which was always a day of great celebration. Sir William Keith was governor,⁷ and he and his retinue came to New Castle to make a gala occasion of the day and to create a great and new political sub-division. He created New Castle as a city and proclaimed its charter, but it was no ordinary charter as we would understand it today. The boundaries ran northerly from the town to the Christiana Creek, thence to Christiana Bridge, and thence by a straight line to a point where Red Lion Creek empties into the Delaware, which would seem to embrace some 25,000 acres. The officers were a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, six assistants, a clerk, a chamberlain or treasurer, a sergeant-at-mace, two constables, and two overseers of the poor. A seal was prescribed—a hand grasping an anchor—over which should be the words, *Nec tollitur undis*, which I translate to mean: "And it is not raised from the waves." Courts were set up, separate from the county courts, and above all the new city was to be entitled to two new and separate representatives in the General Assembly. It was these provisions for the courts and the enlargement of the General Assembly which, a few years later, after Keith's removal as governor, led to the revocation of the charter, as Keith had no authority so to alter the fundamental law of the colony.

It adds to the piquancy of the reference to know that the new mayor, Colonel John French, and some six other officers such as Richard Grafton, Samuel Lowman and James Sykes, were wardens and vestrymen of this church; and many of the others like Dr. John Finney, Anthony Houston and Thomas Janvier, were devout Presbyterians.

That the new corporation should be surrounded by old world pomp and ceremony, may be seen from the provision "that the present and succeeding Mayors of the said City shall and may have a mace borne before him and them."

A printed broadside records the proceedings and the governor's speech, and states:

⁶George I was born May 28, 1660; he ascended the British throne August 1, 1714; died June 11, 1727.

⁷For details of Keith's governorship, see Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania, 1688-1748*, Philadelphia, 1917; 981 pp. in 2 volumes; index, *passim*.

"The Governor and his lady were afterwards entertained at dinner by the Magistrates where the King's health, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family with many other loyal healths were drank with several discharges of the cannon belonging to the place."

Regardless of other claims or claimants, this was in truth and in fact the creation of the very first city in our present state of Delaware, and one of the first instances in the entire country.

Does it stretch the imagination to believe that mother and daughter—Gertrude and Catharine—were interested spectators when a son and brother was one of the named officials thus inducted into office?

It would be interesting to trace the subsequent lives of Governor and Lady Keith, but space forbids. Some two years later (1726) Keith was removed as governor and did everything he could to sow the seeds of discord. In 1728, without salary or income, he became deeply involved in debt. He allowed a ship to leave Philadelphia and followed it in a rowboat to New Castle, where he secretly boarded it, and left his family, whom he never saw again. Some twenty years later (November 18, 1749), he died in the debtor's prison in London.

In the following words one chronicler records the end of the distinguished couple after being stripped of all temporal power and comfort:

"I figure to myself the restless, discontented, dishonest spirit of Sir William—counteracting the sullen and unsocial genius of his prouder helpmate—she never deigning to cross a threshold which happily separated her from the ignoble creatures of mean existence around her—he, always abroad in the plans of destroying the peace of a Province he was no longer allowed to govern—both finally poor, old and despised. Sir William I believe, died in the Fleet or very soon after quitting it. She lived after her wealth was gone and her friends, and wearied and secluding herself from all mortal knowledge in the back room of a miserable dwelling in Third Street [in Philadelphia]. She struggled through several years of a deficiency of all the comforts of life of which the penalty was enhanced by her malignant and impatient temper, her consolation consisting in some small pieces of plate impressed with the family arms which hunger or disease could not prevail on her to part with, she at length expired hating herself and forgotten by the world."

Her proud spirit would not apparently allow even her son, Alexander Henry Keith, collector of the port of New Castle (1729-1741), or her son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Graeme, to provide for her. She died,

July 31, 1740, and was buried in Christ Church yard, Philadelphia. Truly a sad picture of a knighted governor and his lady who attempted so much for us of New Castle.

As Catharine Van Gezel participated in New Castle's celebration of 1724, did she look upon Lady Keith with envy? If so, it was not for long. About the time that life for Lady Keith began to wane and grow bitter, life for Catharine brought fruition and joy. She became the wife of the Reverend George Ross, the rector of New Castle, and the mother of seven children, among whom were George, Jr. (1730-1779), a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a daughter, Gertrude, destined to be the wife of George Read (1733-1798), another signer of the Declaration and a United States senator from Delaware.

And when, on January 6, 1731, her husband returned from the vestry meeting and perhaps told her that it had been recorded on the minutes:

"Ordered that the Church Wardens, Vestrymen, or some of them do purchase of the Lady Keith the bell now used for the church at any rate not exceeding two shillings per pound and that it be bought in the name of the person who shall happen to bargain for the same or such other way as to them shall seem most proper for securing the same to the use of the church,"

did she not feel some pity for the great lady of former years who now needed desperately the money that a church bell might bring to her straitened, if not empty, purse?

This, in all probability, was the same bell mentioned in an address from the vestry to the bishop of London on December 6, 1710, a note on the margin of which reads,

"Which said bell formerly belonged to ye Dutch whilst they had the Government and upon surrendering the latter to his Majesty King Charles was delivered to the English and ordered for the use of our church by ye Honorable Col. Evans, our late Governor."

Just what rights Lady Keith may have had in the church bell, is not clear. One regrets that our records contain no further reference to the bell, so that all knowledge of it, like so many other precious relics, has been lost in the flux of time.

Without doubt the ashes of Catharine Van Gezel Ross now rest in an unmarked and unrecorded grave near this church which, in life,

had meant so much to her. She was throughout almost her entire life—as maiden, wife and mother—one of its most honored members.

THE GRANDDAUGHTER: GERTRUDE (ROSS) READ

Gertrude Ross was born in New Castle and here she lived her entire life. Her connection with this church was most unusual. The daughter of one rector, she was the half-sister of another—the Rev. Aeneas Ross, who was rector from 1757 to 1782.

Not many years after her father's death, 1754, while still a young matron, her first husband, Thomas Till, died. On January 11, 1763, in this very church, she was married to George Read (1733-1798), then a young lawyer of the town whose fortunes she was to share for the next thirty-five years—thirty-five years of marital happiness, but otherwise filled with strife and war and political change and unrest.

Little did Gertrude Ross Read realize, while her mother and her grandmother had, as we have seen back in 1724, made a great celebration of the king's birthday, with loyal toasts to the king and royal family, that soon neither that birthday nor any other royal birthday would be celebrated at all, but instead the king and royal family would be the objects of bitterness and hatred.

With the Stamp Act of 1765 came the rumblings of the inevitable conflict, and no persons were more intimately involved in this struggle than Gertrude Read and her husband. No one in Delaware was more active and influential during the Revolution than was George Read, and scarcely a state paper exists in the formation of which he did not have a prominent part. His activities were so extended that a political enemy styled him "Dionysius, the tyrant of Delaware," while, on the other hand, Scharf's *History*⁸ calls him the "Father of the State of Delaware."

But it is not primarily of the men in this connection that I write, but of the experiences and glorious services of the women. The long periods of public service consumed private means, and all those economies without which they could not have carried on, fell upon tender shoulders. And the long periods of separation entailed by her husband's service of eighteen years in the assembly or council; four years in the Continental Congress; vice-president and president of the State of Delaware; president of the first constitutional convention; judge of admiralty; signer of the Declaration of Independence; and later a framer of the constitution of the United States, and Delaware's first

⁸John Thomas Scharf, *History of the State of Delaware* (2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1888). An elaborate history of the state; the second volume is entirely biographical.

senator under it; and chief justice of Delaware—all these long periods of separation threw such cares and responsibilities upon Gertrude Read as to have been unendurable unless her brave and valiant soul had been comforted by God in the present and fortified with implicit faith in the future.

With the unique experience of both a husband and a brother as signers of the Declaration of Independence, can anyone doubt that Gertrude Read shared in large measure the joys and sorrows, the pleasures and disappointments of her helpmate? Or doubt that she enjoyed the confidences and sacredly maintained the secrets of him whose life she shared?

During the Revolutionary War, New Castle was often in the control of the British through the warships in the river. At such times Gertrude would fly with her young family to the surrounding country, and at one time to New Jersey, and at another to Maryland, until the town was again free and the danger temporarily passed.

On October 13, 1775, after the war had begun, Gertrude Read, in this church, saw her niece, Joanna Ross, the daughter of the rector (Aeneas Ross), married to Captain Thomas Holland, formerly of the British army, who had greatly distinguished himself at Dettingen (1743) and Fontenoy (1745). As an English officer Holland had espoused the cause of a girl, the daughter of an acquaintance in the English clergy, who had been greatly wronged by the nephew of Holland's colonel, and the son of a nobleman. The rich and powerful connection of the latter compelled Captain Holland to resign his commission, and he fled to America. He was a widower at the time, and he had two sons—six and four years of age—whom he never saw again.

At the outbreak of hostilities, Captain Holland offered his services to his adopted land. He elected to cast in his lot with Haslet's Regiment of the Delaware Line, the troops from his new wife's own state. Delaware's regiment is generally admitted to have been one of the best in the American army, and Holland had something to do with making it so. He was made adjutant, and from his experience in the English army it is not improbable that he was drillmaster to the Delaware regiment as Baron Von Steuben was to the Continental army.

Captain Holland was wounded at the battle of Germantown, and as he lay in a neighboring house he was visited by some English officers who had known him in the English army and who spoke of him most highly. They were solicitous for his recovery, but his wounds were fatal and there he died.

But not all of Gertrude Read's life was of the sterner sort. In this very church, throughout almost all of the war, she had the rare

privilege—rare, that is, to most Anglicans left in the newly created states—of publicly worshipping God and regularly receiving the Holy Communion. This privilege was rare because this church was the only one of the Church of England in Delaware that remained open throughout the war. Here she could come and use that new prayer for the Congress which has been substituted for the prayer for the royal family, and of which Congress her husband was then a member; here she could come and pray for the success of those arms she so valiantly supported.

That many of the churches were closed during the Revolutionary War must not be surprising. I know of no greater conflict one could face than was experienced by the colonial clergy of the Church of England. Each one had taken vows at his ordination such as no one of any other group of ministers had been required to take. Not only had each Anglican priest at his ordination promised faithfully to use the liturgy of which prayers for the king and royal family were an obligatory part, but *twice*, once at his ordination to the diaconate and again to the priesthood, he had taken

The Oath of the King's Supremacy⁹

I, *A. B.* do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm. *So help me God.*

In the face of such vows, assumed at the most solemn moment in their lives, many of the Anglican clergy felt that they could not conscientiously continue public worship if it necessitated cessation of prayers for the king and the royal family, which omissions the local patriots usually demanded. They, therefore, felt compelled, in most cases in the Northern Colonies, to close their churches.

⁹This may be found in the ordinal of any English Prayer Book of 1775 or before, commonly called the English Prayer Book of 1662. An accessible reprint of the 1775 ordinal, including the above oath, may be found in William McGarvey, *Liturgiae Americanae*, Philadelphia, 1897; pp. lxxiii + 490 + 90. The above quotation is on page 423 of the 1897 edition.

No man may rightfully condemn another for an action conscientiously taken. But we may question the grounds upon which such a conscientious action is based. And when we do that, we cannot but feel that our war-time rector, Aeneas Ross, chose the better part in keeping open Immanuel Church. For here, obviously, we have a conflict of duties, a head-on conflict of vows. In such a conflict the duties owed to Christ as Head of the Church, the vows pertaining to His commands, must take precedence over all others. What these were, is clear: "Preach the Gospel"; "Baptize"; "Do this in remembrance of Me" (celebrate the Holy Communion). Under any and all circumstances, physical disability or inability alone preventing, every priest of the Church is solemnly bound so to do.

It is interesting to note that the loyalist clergy such as Abraham Beach of New Jersey and those of Connecticut eventually arrived (1781) at the very same position taken at least five years earlier by Aeneas Ross, except that in ceasing to pray for the king and royal family they did not substitute the prayer for Congress until the war was over. Moreover, their superiors in England—the bishop of London and the S. P. G.—agreed that they would be justified in such omissions if thereby they could open their churches for public worship.¹⁰

In the providence of God the war finally came to an end—the longest this country has ever been engaged in. Did the cessation of hostilities bring peace and quiet in its wake? Not at all. It was soon seen that thirteen free and independent states could not exist as free and independent of each other, and so new political bands were forged, joining each to the other. In the convention which drafted the federal constitution, and in the first senate under it, those near and dear to Gertrude Read had a prominent part. While those of the gentler sex then took no active part in politics, yet it cannot be doubted that their support, advice and counsel, then as now, contributed largely to the general welfare.

But did the cessation of hostilities immediately bring more of peace, good order, and tranquillity into our branch of the Church? Far from it. During and immediately following the war, all religious affairs of the Church of England in America were in chaos. The Church here consisted of just so many separate, independent and largely isolated

¹⁰See the letter of the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler to the Rev. Abraham Beach, dated London, December 3, 1781, certifying to this fact, in Samuel A. Clark, *The History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey*, Philadelphia, 1857, pp. 198-200. Chandler, then in London, took the matter up with the bishop of London (Dr. Robert Lowth) and the Society.

congregations, many of them without any clergy at all. Theretofore nearly all of the clergy of the country, outside of Virginia and Maryland, had been sent as missionaries by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which Society largely supported them. Following the war all this was changed and the Society's support was withdrawn. There were then no dioceses, no bishops to exercise leadership or authority, and no one parish had any tie or connection with any other, save that of the Book of Common Prayer and the other customs or usages of the Church.

At this juncture the Rev. Aeneas Ross died (1782) and the vestry of Immanuel Church were pioneers in charting new methods of procedure. They had never before chosen or called a rector on their own sole authority. It was in such a situation that the Rev. Charles H. Wharton¹¹ of Maryland, a recent convert from the Roman Communion, entered the life of this parish. For his reception into the Church by the parish authorities without any bishop's action and his selection as rector here, there were no precedents; and those established in this parish were among the very first used in this country.

Gertrude Read, as the daughter of the first rector and the half-sister of her father's successor, must have been an interested observer of all of these unusual proceedings. She was well grounded in church matters, and a letter still exists which speaks highly of the character of her mind and understanding.

When Dr. Wharton was received into our branch of the Church, he made what was called a "Declaration of Conformity," which is set

¹¹Charles Henry Wharton (May 25 (O. S.), 1748-July 23, 1833) was born in St. Mary's county, Maryland, the son of Jesse and Ann (Bradford) Wharton—a distinguished Roman Catholic family. In 1760 he was sent abroad for education to the English Jesuits' college at St. Omer's, France, and later, when driven from France, to Bruges, Flanders. He received orders in the Roman Church: deacon, June 1772; priest September, 1772. At the close of the Revolutionary War he was chaplain to the Roman Catholics of Worcester, England; immediately after the treaty of peace was signed, 1783, he returned to America. About May, 1784, Wharton formally renounced the Roman Church. After serving Immanuel Church, New Castle, he spent about six years in retirement, recovering his health. From 1798 to 1833 he was rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, New Jersey. In 1801 he was elected president of Columbia College, New York City; after accepting and attending the first commencement, he withdrew his acceptance, probably because of the precarious state of his health. Dr. Wharton was a recognized scholar in a day when there were few such in the American Church. He had considerable influence in organizing the infant Episcopal Church in its critical era, and lived to see it begin a vigorous recovery from the devastating effects of the Revolutionary War. For further details, see Bishop George W. Doane's biography of him in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Volume V., pp. 335-342. Bishop Doane knew him personally and succeeded him as rector of St. Mary's, Burlington, New Jersey.

out in full upon the records of the vestry, September 22, 1784. In this Declaration two things stand out most prominently. He said:

(1) "I approve the tenets and liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church as now commonly taught and practiced in America."

(2) "I will conform to the ordinances and liturgy which may hereafter be adopted by a General Continental Convention of this church."

Why did Dr. Wharton use the term "Protestant Episcopal Church"? As yet there had been no General Convention, and only one interstate meeting—that at new Brunswick on May 11th, 1784, at which no action had been taken other than to call a more general meeting in New York in October of this very same year. The explanation probably is that the name had been proposed by a Rev. Mr. Jones at a meeting of the Maryland clergy in Chestertown, November 9, 1780. Dr. Wharton, coming from Maryland, probably approved of the name and so used it.

Secondly, Dr. Wharton had already been in consultation with Dr. William White, soon to be the first bishop of Pennsylvania, who was of the very same age, and who was already a recognized leader in the infant Church. From Dr. White he had probably heard of the proposed interstate meeting in New York on October 6th and 7th, 1784, which he proposed to attend and which he did attend exactly two weeks after he had been received into the Church and elected as rector of the parish. With Dr. Wharton went Robert Clay, then a layman here, but who afterwards for thirty-six years was his successor as rector of this parish.

Dr. Wharton was a leading and influential figure in those crucial gatherings—the second interstate meeting of 1784 in New York, and the General Conventions of 1785 and 1786, by which the Church's constitution was drafted and adopted in its main outlines, and the measures for securing the episcopate from the English line were successfully carried through. Probably to Dr. Wharton goes the principal credit for bringing the General Convention of 1786 to Wilmington.¹²

Gertrude Read, as the wife of a statesman and as Dr. Wharton's parishioner, was thus on the "inside" of these epochal events which re-

¹²For an authoritative study of "The Interstate Meetings and General Conventions of 1784, 1785, 1786, and 1789", see William Wilson Manross in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Volume VIII (1939), pp. 257-280.

sulted in the making of both her Church's and her country's constitutions—that of the Church preceding that of the country. As political affairs became stabilized in 1787 by the adoption of the federal constitution, so the almost exactly contemporaneous organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church established our religious affairs upon stable and enduring foundations.

CONCLUSION

And so I come to the end of my story of what was seen through the eyes of three notable women of Immanuel Church, New Castle. The mother, Gertrude Reynier Van Gezel, had experienced the lack of organized religious ministrations in New Castle, and had participated in the consequent founding of this parish. The daughter, Catharine Van Gezel Ross, had not only watched the erection of this church building itself, but as the wife of the first rector had been intimately associated with the interesting colonial events, so shrouded in mystery and charm to us of a later day, which had revolved around this old (but in her day, young) church. The granddaughter, Gertrude Ross Read, although a woman grown and a wife and mother, was nevertheless a child of war. She had seen all things theretofore held dear—civil and political institutions and religious customs and usages—almost torn from their very roots; she had seen chaos raise its ugly head, but in the shadow of the church whose name means "God with us," she had been able to continue her worship and her communions; finally, she had seen the troublesome times subside, and peace and order resume their proper place; and then she had seen the daughter of the Church of England come of age, and, fully organized and with complete autonomy, take her rightful place among the branches of the Church of God.

What these three women saw and experienced was not confined to them alone; their experiences were shared by countless other souls. I have elected to tell my story through the lives of these three women because I knew something about them and about the scenes in which they lived. They reveal to us why "the lines are fallen" unto us "in pleasant places"; "yea," why we "have a goodly heritage."

What more can I say of this church in which these lives were lived and in the shadow of which all three now rest; this church which has seen every personage and every event which I have mentioned; this church which has heard the prayers for peace in every stress and strain this land has ever known—from the earliest colonial wars to that in which we are now engaged; this church whose bell has tolled the

knell for departed loved ones, and yet has also sounded joyful wedding peals, and has joined the joyous choruses of Christmas and of Easter. I can only say that a great poet might well have had this church in mind as he wrote:

What an image of peace and rest
Is this quiet little church among its graves!
All is so quiet; the troubled breast,
The wounded spirit, the heart oppressed
Here may find the repose it craves.

Here would I stay, and let the world
With its distant thunder roar and roll;
Storms do not rend the sail that is furled
Nor like a dead leaf, tossed and whirled
In an eddy of wind, is the anchored soul.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Common Life in the Body of Christ. By Lionel Thornton, C. R.
London: Dacre Press. 470 pages. Price, 30 shillings.

Fr. Thornton, doubtless, is among the distinguished contemporary theologians of the Anglican Communion. His early work, *Conduct and the Supernatural*, with its keen criticism of Nietzsche, was widely read; the huge study of Christology, *The Incarnate Lord*, is already a classic of its kind; and a smaller volume, *The Atonement*, has attracted many readers. Now comes a large, closely written volume of biblical theology, in the strict sense—an analysis of the doctrine of the Church as presented in the New Testament, with a very detailed examination of all the New Testament material, and a reconstruction which seeks to summarize and re-state the New Testament view taking into account the findings of critical enquiry in the biblical field.

With his smaller work on the atonement, Fr. Thornton first altered his line of attack, so to say, on theological problems. For many years concerned with the re-thinking of the dogmas and ethical standards of historical Christianity in the light of modern philosophy and ethical thought, he is now much more interested in the examination and re-statement of such dogmas and standards in scriptural terms. In other words, he, too, is associated with the newer movement towards a revamped biblical theology.

Some of us may have our doubts as to the ultimate result of this "return to Scripture," so marked on the continent, increasingly felt in England, and likely to sweep in on the American scene. But in any case, Fr. Thornton has done a magnificent job in gathering together and presenting in one volume the many elements of New Testament thought on the Church. There is very little, if any, development in his interpretation beyond that suggested in several of his chapters in *The Incarnate Lord*; but there is ample discussion of every point, with full attention paid to all the relevant texts, with the consequence that a most impressive picture is given us of the wonderful richness of the New Testament's teaching on this subject.

Opening chapters emphasize the "community" which marks the life of the early Christians: "No Christian outside the Church" might sum it up. Then we go on to see how, by participation in this common life, the Christian is made a partaker of the Holy Spirit, whose operation is in the growth in charity, making men sharers in the victory of the resurrection, sons of God in Christ, and heirs of the Kingdom who even now (in the Church's fellowship) have "the first-fruits" of that ultimate redemption.

From this we move on to the Church as the true Body of Christ,

having with his physical body an "identity in distinction," and yet "one flesh" in him. There is one brief note which links this position with that taken in *The Incarnate Lord*, in which the human organism for the Word was discussed in the light of Whitehead's organic philosophy. Final chapters deal with the relation of the sacramental way, especially the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, with the Church and its life.

One may differ from Fr. Thornton now and again, on matters of detail in exegesis; but this is very incidental and unimportant. What is vitally significant is that we have now before us a fine, devotionally helpful and theologically stimulating sketch of that which in fact the New Testament has to say about the Church. This is the material which we need for our theology of the Church.

But—and this is the point at which the reviewer feels that Fr. Thornton and all the rest of the new "biblical theologians" let us down—is all of this *true*, as well as all of it in Holy Scripture? Is it indeed scriptural teaching; but we want its truth, its applicability, its dogmatic relevance, argued and established—and this the "biblical theologians" will not, or at any rate do not, undertake. For this reason, they may not unfairly be termed "neo-fundamentalists." The reviewer is sure that Fr. Thornton's sketch is not only scriptural but essential to Christianity. Yet is it not of great importance to establish it, so far as may be, for those "not of the household"?

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

The General Theological Seminary.

Finite and Infinite. By Austin Farrer. London: Dacre Press. 300 pp. Price, 20 shillings.

The author of this very highly technical, but thoroughly interesting, philosophical work undertakes to argue for a revised scholasticism, which will give due place and attention to all the discoveries and theories both of philosophy and science which are relevant to man's metaphysical enterprise. The contribution of logical positivism is perhaps the most recent of these, and Mr. Farrer gives it a thorough, critical examination, as he does also the philosophy of language which has been more prominent in American circles than in English. Kant comes in for his share of attention, and it is even recognized that Descartes had something important to say, although his position is one of contradiction and false abstraction.

Through his pages, one follows the thread of the argument—that the experience of men in the finite world presupposes and demands, for any understanding adequate to its partial reality, an Infinite Reality or God. This argument is not merely in terms of substance, but in terms of will—and there are several firmly reasoned chapters on the meaning of human freedom, the nature of will, and the general Kantian position.

One could honestly recommend this book only to those who are competent in the philosophical idiom; but for them, it will be both stimu-

lating and suggestive, and may point the way towards that new rational theology or natural metaphysics which will be the necessary foundation for revelation and revealed religion.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

The General Theological Seminary, New York City.

The North American Indian Today. Edited by C. T. Loram (Obit.) and T. F. McIlwraith. Toronto, Canada. The University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 361.

To the reviewer the skill with which the editors have organized the seminary-conference addresses, given at Toronto, Canada, September 4-16, 1939, is a major interest. The conference, supported by the Carnegie Corporation and sponsored by Yale University and the University of Toronto, made an able survey of the Indian, north of Mexico, in many aspects of his life. Notable men from both the academic and practical world were participants in the meetings. Some of the main subjects dealt with concerned The Indian and the Missionary, The Indian and the Government, and the problems of health, of education, of racial tension, and of the land and the economic impact of the white man on Indian life. Any one of these topics, usually presented in pairs by an American and a Canadian, can be read independently of other subjects. Substantial unity has been given to the book by introductions to the several parts.

The layman will find the volume interesting and informative. It is one of the best brief introductions to the American Indian both historically and sociologically. The Indian is now increasing both in Canada and the United States: in Canada at an average yearly increase of about 1%, and in the United States at a more rapid rate than the population as a whole. The decrease of the stock from a possible million at the time of Columbus, to about two-fifths of that number has been permanently arrested. John Collier, the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is given much credit for the new Indian policy in the United States, based on a recent Act of Congress (1934).

In condemning American Indian policy, Collier points out that the hit-or-miss methods of the governments, British colonial and later state and national, have been singularly expensive in money. He estimates that it cost a million dollars for the army to kill each Indian (p. 142). He is convinced that Indian morale and Indian craftsmanship are in process of being recovered. One negative comment may be ventured. The religion of the Indian is referred to many times, in a way that shows marked variations from region to region, from tribe to tribe, but no clear analysis of it for any tribe or confederacy is made for the reader.

It is surprising that the diseases of the Indian, for example tuberculosis, the most menacing, vary so much from area to area, and again from tribe to tribe even among those which intermingle. The death rate in some instances is very high, but among other groups tuberculosis is

practically non-existent. Trachoma shows a similar range of intensity. Among the Navajos its ravages are severe.

It has often been said that North America owes to the world a true account of the Indian and his civilization. The authors of these papers are aware of this responsibility and of the world-wide significance of this race relationship as four centuries of contact have shown it to be. Application of part of this experience can be used to the South of us where 30 millions, not half a million, are alive and form the core of population in a number of Latin-American states.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG,
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Five French Negro Authors, Julien Raimond, Charles Bissette, Alexandre Dumas, Auguste Lacaussade, Rene Maran. By Mercer Cook. Washington, D. C. The Associated Publishers. 1943. Pp. xiv, 164.

Harriet Tubman. By Earl Conrad. Washington, D. C. The Associated Publishers. 1943. Pp. xiv, 248.

Professor Mercer Cook points out that there has been so little color prejudice in Paris that the five Frenchmen discussed in his book, whose lives span the years from the 18th century to the present time, regarded themselves as Frenchmen, not as Negro colonials. Whatever color prejudice existed in France during the years of the French Revolution was imported by the white planters from the West Indies and the Isle of Bourbon off the east African Coast. Moreover, these five authors all came from colonies which the French occupied and developed in the seventeenth century. During the long period of occupation, there developed a considerable degree of culture among the people of mixed blood.

It is interesting to note that in England, too, color prejudice was imported from the West Indies and was not indigenous in Britain. The emancipation of the slaves in England (1772) and in Scotland (1778) by judicial decisions was in harmony with the mood of the time and place and involved no major economic crisis. However, when the demand for emancipation was transferred to the English West Indies and to the French West Indies, major controversies arose. In the hard event of history the end of the story is strangely similar in the two Empires. The technique of emancipation, however, was quite different. The mulattoes of Haiti, the greatest sugar-producing island of that time, first drove out the white owners in a rebellion in which Julien Raimond was a leader. In turn, the black men rose against the mulattoes and under Toussaint L'Ouverture set up a Negro Republic which, despite vicissitudes, including attempts at military conquest by the English under Pitt and the French under Napoleon I, has survived to this day. The suzerainty of the United States over the island, as is well known, has been alternately exercised and relaxed. In the British Empire a period

of great West Indian prosperity, due to the collapse of the French islands, was followed after Waterloo by a decline and "The Fall of the Planter Class." Britain increasingly drew its tropical supplies from Southern Asia and emancipation in 1833 by Act of Parliament with £20,000,000 compensation gave the London bankers the money to recoup their loans and the islands suffered from stagnation until they were incorporated into the American economic empire.

Professor Cook's volume is designed to make the American people, especially the Negroes, familiar with the achievements of these five distinguished French writers and propagandists. American Negro authors are well known in France, whereas the French Negro authors, aside from Dumas, are not known in this country.

The early life of Harriet Tubman (c. 1821-1913) was spent not in a colony but in the United States, where the Negro was still in slavery. In certain states he formed about one-half of the population and in the country as a whole over one-eighth of the whole. England was dependent for its cotton on the 4 million slaves in the cotton fields who provided the raw material for the 4 million factory workers in Britain. Powerful economic forces on both sides of the Atlantic defended slavery.

The career of Harriet Tubman, as a worker in the Underground Railroad, is a drama preferably written by one of her race. Throughout the book the author holds attention to the point of suspense as adventure follows adventure. The narrative has color, graphic phrase, imagination and the sense of mystery of a quality not found in Mrs. Stowe or other white writers.

From birth Harriet Tubman was defiant and in later life the northern abolitionists chose the defiant and warlike Ashanti tribe of Africa as her probable ancestry. Normally the Underground Railway is presented as a white man's enterprise in which the Negro helped. Here the story is largely reversed. A black woman is operating on the Railroad and white men are helping her in her treks from Maryland to Canada. She made many trips, visiting her own community, spending periods in the South, and then taking back groups of selected people from the old stock of slaves. Only skilled slaves could make a living in the North. Her appearance gave no hint of her abilities. She was unable to read and write, and sometimes rested under notices of rewards for her arrest. She carried a revolver to intimidate any of her party who might attempt to return.

Here is a human document full of the things of the spirit which are not in the brief account given of her in *The Dictionary of American Biography*. Harriet Tubman's competence included the earning of money for her trips, taking care of her family in Canada and in New York state, buying a home, and spy work within the Confederate lines during the war. Her shrewd judgment of her own people and of the whites was a key asset. She was brought up as a Christian, and had the fierce virtues of the fighting prophets. Abolitionism was her creed and she never questioned the justice of the Abolition "cause."

This migration of skilled slaves to the North, in all the problems of

adjustment, is in miniature strangely like the trek of Negro workers northward in recent decades.

Both volumes, well written and with the view of racial cooperation rather than conflict, are particularly welcome. As long as the Negro's story is written by white men it is only partly written. Negro scholarship will, in time, give its story of the Negro in America.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG,
Professor of History.

University of California, Los Angeles.

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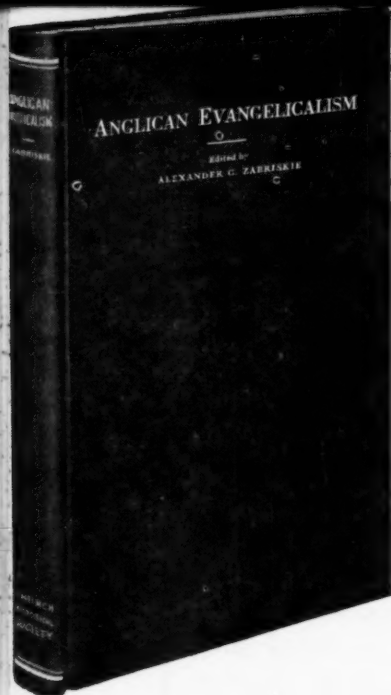
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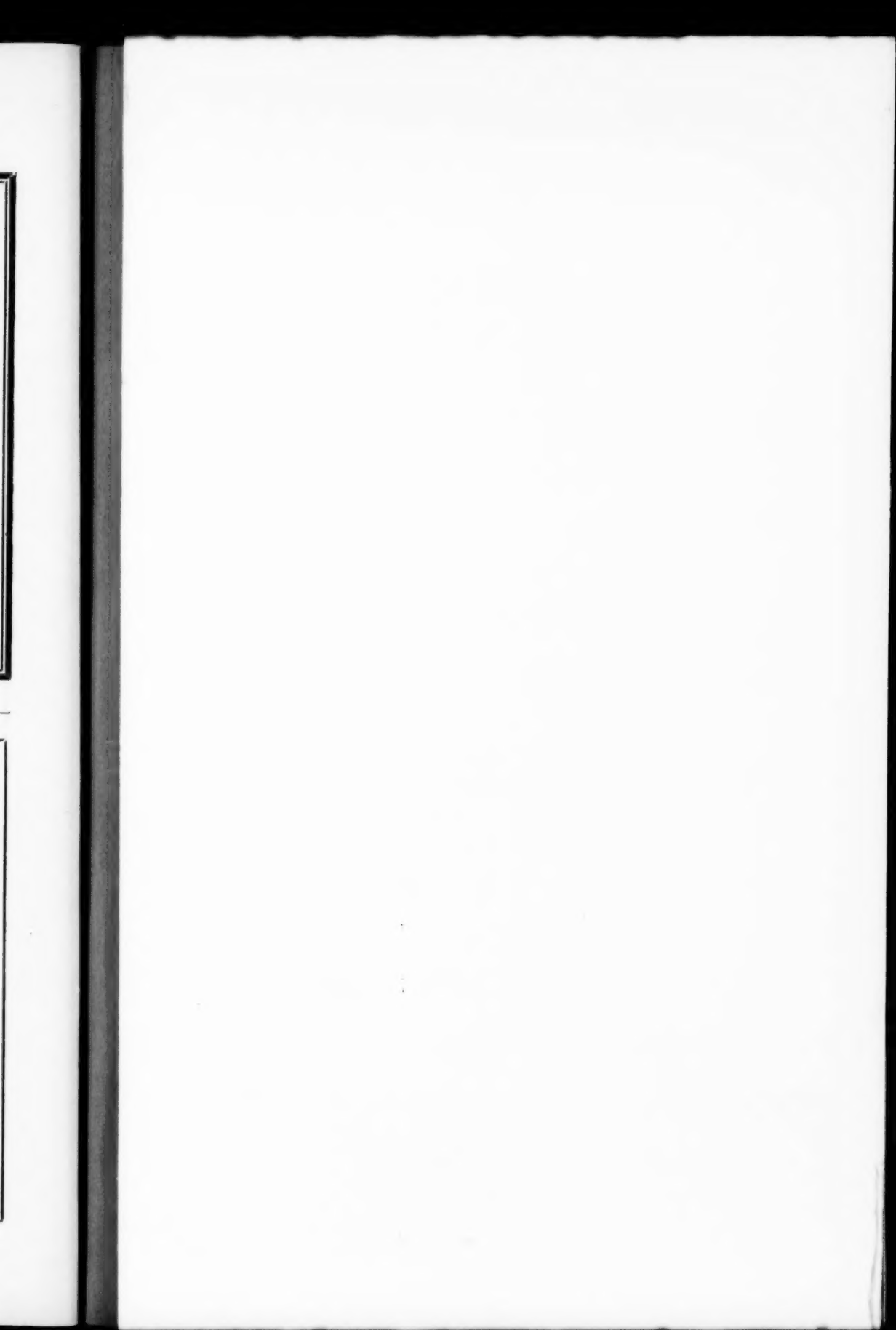
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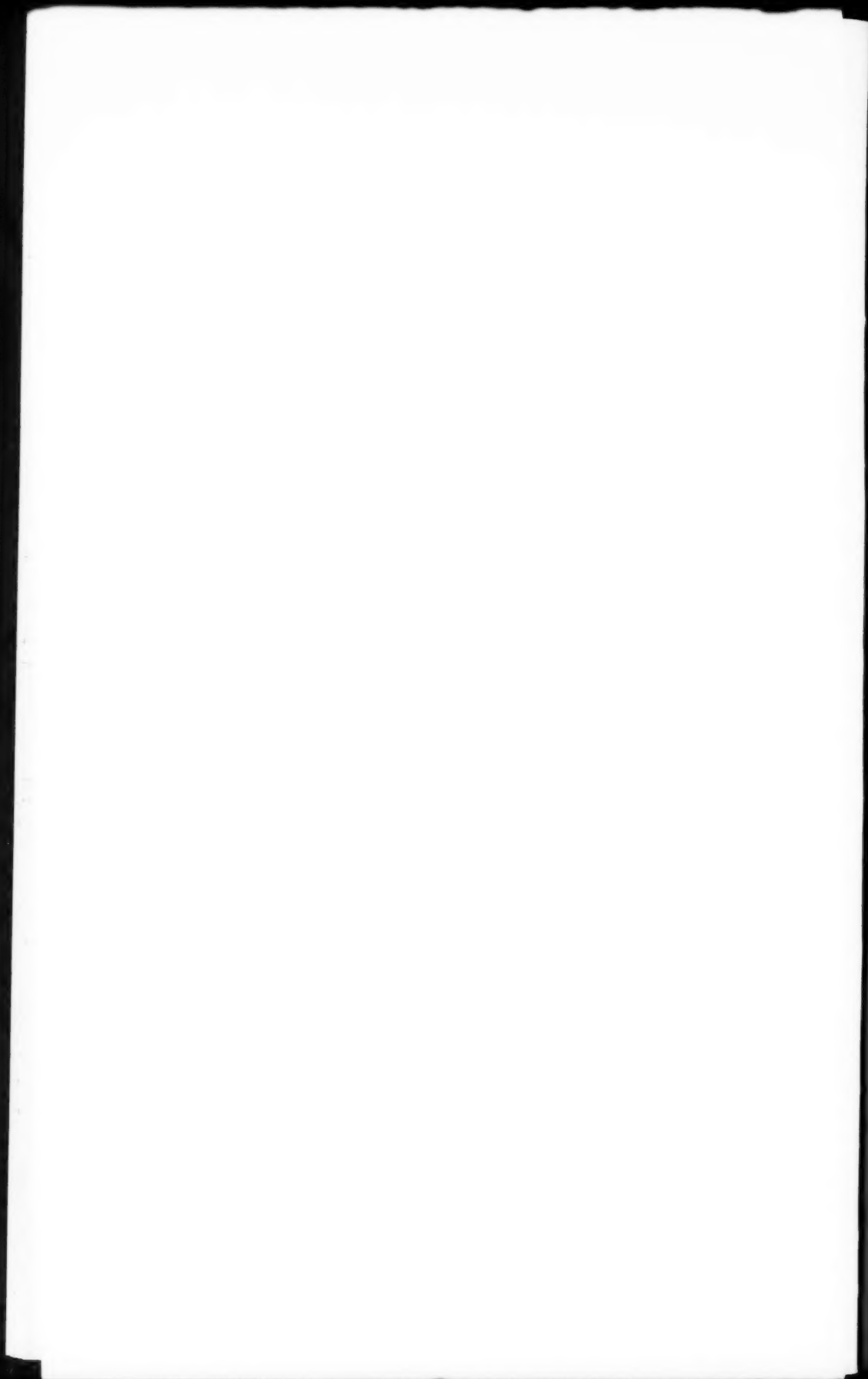
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